THE Royall Martyr.

OR,

KING CHARLES

The FIRST no Man of BLOOD but A MARTYR for His PEOPLE.

Being a brief A count of His Actions from the beginnings of the late unhappy Warrs, untill He was basely Butchered to the Odium of Religion, and scorn of all Nations, before his Pallace at *White-Hall*, *Jan.* 30. 1648.

To which is Added,

A Short Hiſtory of His Royall

MAJESTY

Charles the Second,

KING of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c.

Third Monarch of Great *Brittain*.

In all his Sufferings and Solitudes more then CONQUERER, Rom. 8.

Salus Populi Salus Regis.

London, Printed for *Henry Bell*, and are to be ſold by moſt Book ſellers. 1660.

TO THE KINGS Most Excellent Majesty.

Dread Soveraign,

THe occasion of these few lines is neither to renew your sorrow, nor stir up your Majesty to revenge; I know you have learned a better lesson from our blessed Lord and Saviour, to forgive your enemies; *neither is it my design to plead for that which I even tremble to write,* viz. Regicide, *I know*

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know, the world expects ſome ſhould be made examples of Juſtice, God forbid that blood-guiltineſs, eſpecially of our King ſhould go unpuniſht. But that Juſtice & mercy might kiſs each other. *Theſe enſuing lines were writ in the midſt of your and our ſufferings; the onely end both in writing and publiſhing was to Vindicate your Royal Father, our Dread Soveraign of bleſſed memory, thereby to make a more eaſie paſſage for your moſt Excellent Majeſty to aſcend unto the Royall throne of your famous Progenitors: And now ſee-*

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ing God at last by his wonderfull and most miraculous Providence, hath brought your Sacred Majesty to your just Rights & Dominions, I make bold in all humility to prostitute both my self and this small Tract at your Royall Feet, beseeching your Clemency to accept of this small Mite of my Loyalty, begging your gracious pardon for my great presumption, beseeching Almighty Jehovah *the God of your Fathers to redouble in you your Fathers Graces and Vertues, & recompence to your Majesty for all your unparalelled sufferrings*

rings & patience, in the perfect obedience and affection of all your Subjects & eſtabliſh your Royall Throne here on Earth, and at laſt give you a Crown of Glory in the higheſt heavens,

ſo prays,

Your Majeſties Loyall,
Humble, and moſt obedient Subject,
W. H. B.

KING

King Charles the First no Man of Blood:

But a Martyr for his People.

THat there hath been now eighteen years ſpent in Civill Warrs, aboundance of Blood ſhed, and more Ruine and miſery brought upon the Kingdom by it, then all the ſeverall Changes, Conqueſts, and Civill Warrs it hath endured from the time of *Brute*, or the firſt Inhabitants of it; every mans wofull experience (ſome onely excepted who have been gainers by it) will eaſily aſſent unto.

No marvell therefore that many of thoſe (who if all they alledge for themſelves, that they were not the cauſe of it, could be granted to be true) might either have hindred or leſſned it, would now put the blame of ſo horrid a buſineſs from themſelves, and lay it upon any they can perſwade to bear it: And that the Conquerours, who would bind *their King in Chains, and their Princes with Fetters of Iron*; and think they have a Commiſſion from heaven to do it (the guilt of it being neceſſarily either to be charged upon the Conquerours or Conquered) are not willing to have their *Triumphant Chairs*, and the glories (as they are made believe) that hang

upon their ſhoulders defiled with it; but do all they can to load their Captives with it: But howſoever, though the ſucceſs and power of an Army hath frighted it ſo far out of queſtion as to charge it upon the King, and take away his life for it; by making thoſe thatmuſt of neceſſity be guilty of the fact; if he ſhould have been (as in all reaſon he ought to have been acquitted of it) the only Judges of him.

It may well become the judgement and conſcience of every man that will be but either a good Subject or a Chriſtian, not to lend out his Soul and Salvation ſo much on truſt, as to take thoſe that are parties, and the moſt ignorant ſort of mens words for it: but enter into a moſt ſerious examination of the matter of Fact it ſelfe, and by tracing out the foot-ſteps of Truth, ſee what a concluſion may be drawn out of it. In purſuance whereof (for I hope the Originall of this Sea of Blood will not prove ſo unſearchable as the head of *Nile*), we ſhall enquire firſt of all who raiſed the fears and jealouſies. Secondly, repreſent and ſet down the truth of the matter of Fact, and proceedings betwixt the King and Parliament; from the tumultuous and ſeditious coming of the people to the Parlament and White-Hall, untill the 25 of *Auguſt*, 1642. when he ſet up his *Standard* at *Nottingham*, and from the ſetting up of his *Standard* untill the 13 of *September* 1642. when the Parlament by their many Acts of Hoſtility, and a Negative and Churliſh anſwer to his propoſitions, might well have put him out

out of hope of any good to be obtained from them, by meſſages of peace ſent unto them. Thirdly, whether a Prince or other Magiſtrate, labouring to ſuppreſs or puniſh a rebellion of the People, be tyed to thoſe rules are neceſſary to the juſtifying of a War if it were made between equals. Fourthly, ſuppoſe the War to be made with a neighbour Prince, or between equalls, whether the King or Parlament were in the defenſive or juſtifiable part of it. Fifthly, whether the Parlament in their pretended Magiſtracy have not taken leſſer occaſions to puniſh or provide againſt inſurrections, treaſons, and rebellions as they are pleaſed to call them. Sixthly, who moſt deſired Peace, and offered fairlieſt for it. Seventhly, who laboured to ſhorten the War, and who to lengthen it. Eightly, whether the conditions proffered by the King, would not have been more profitable for the People if they had been accepted, and what the Kingdom and People have got inſtead of it.

CHAP. I.

Who firſt of all Raiſed the Fears and Jealouſies?

THe deſiring of a guard for a Parlament becauſe of a tale rather then a plot; That the Earl of *Crawford* had a purpoſe to take away the Marquis of *Hamiltons* life in *Scotland*; the refuſing of a legall guard offered by the King; and,

his Protestation to be as careful of their safety, as the safety of his Wife and Children; The dream of a Taylor lying in a ditch in *Finsbury* fields, of this and the other good Lord, and Commonwealths men to be taken away; The trayning of Horses under ground, and a plague plaister (or rather a clout taken from a galled Horse back) sent into the House of Commons to Mr. *Tym.* A design of the Inhabitants of *Covent Garden* to murther the City of *London*; News from *France*, *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Denmark*, of Armies ready to come for *England*; and a supposition, or feaverish fancy, that the King intended to introduce Popery, & after Religion, and take away the Laws and Liberties of the People, and many other the like seditious delusions, the People (so much as their misery will give them leave) have now found out the way to laugh at; either came from the Parlament party, or were cherished and turned into advantages by them. For they had found the way, and lost nothing by it, to be ever jealous of the King; And whilst he did all he could to shew them that there was no cause for it, they who were jealous without a cause, could be so cunning as to make all the hast they could to weaken him, and strengthen themselvs, by such kind of artifices.

But he that could not choose but take notice that there were secret ties and combinations betwixt his *English* and *Scottish* Subjects, the latter of whom the Earl of *Essex* and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* themselves understood to be no better then Rebells, and therefore served in places of Com-

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mand in his Majesties Army against them: That Sir *Arthur Haselrig* had brought in a Bill in Parlament to take the Militia by Sea and Land away from him, saw himselfe not long after by a printed Remonstrance or Declaration made to the People of all they could but imagine to be errors in his Government, arraigned and little less then deposed: The Bishops and divers great Lords driven from the Parlament by tumults; Was inforced to keep his gates at *Whitehall* shut, and procure divers Captains and Commanders to lodge there, and to allow them a Table to be a guard for him; and had been fully informed of many Traiterous Speeches used by some seditious Mechanicks of *London*, as that *it was pity he should Raign*, and that *The Prince would make a better King*; was yet so far from being jealous, or solicitous to defend himselfe by the Sword and power which God had intrusted him with, as when he had need and reason enough to do it, he still granted them (that he might not seem to deny what might but seem to be for the good of his people) every thing they could reasonably ask of him, or he could but reasonably tell how to part with (though he could not be ignorant, but an ill use might be made of them against himself;) As the putting down of the Star-Chamber, and high Commission Court, the Courts of Honour, and of the North and Welch Marches; Commissions for the making of Gun-powder, allowing them approbation or nomination of the Lievtenant of the Tower, and did all and more then all his predecessors put together, to remove

their jealousies. And when that would not do it; He stood still, and saw the game plaid on further; many Tumults raised, many Libells and scandalous Pamphlets publickly printed against his person and Government, and when he complained of it in Parlament, so little care was taken to redress it, as that the peoples coming to *Westminster* in a Tumultuous manner, set on, and invited by *Pennington* and *Ven*, two of the most active Mechanick Sectaries of the House of Commons, it was excused and called a liberty of Petitioning: And as for the Libells and Pamphlets, the Licensing of Books before they should be printed, and all other restraint of the Printing Press were taken away, and complaints being made against Pamphlets and seditious Books, some of the Members of the house of Commons were heard to say the work would not be done without them; and complaints being also made to Mr. *Pym* against some wicked men which were ill affected to the Government; He answered, *It was not now a time to discourage their friends, but to make use of them:* And here being as many Jealousies and fears as could possibly be raised or fancied without a ground on the one side; against all the endeavours could be used on the other side to remove them. We shall in the next place take a view of the matter of Fact that followed upon them, and bring before you.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The Proceedings betwixt the King and the Parlament from the Tumultuous and Seditious coming of the People to the Parlament and White-Hall till the 13. *of* September 1642. *being* 18. *days after the King had set up his Standard at* Nottingham.

WHen all the King could do to bring the Parlament to a better understanding of him, did, as they were pleased to make their advantage of it, but make them seem to be the more unsatisfied; that they might the better misrepresent him to the People, and petition out of his hands as much power as they could tell how to perswade him to grant them, and that he had proofs enough of what hath been since written in the blood and hearts of his People, that the five Members and *Kimbolton* intended to root out Him and His Posterity; subvert the Laws and alter the Religion, and Covernment of the Kingdom, and had therefore sent his Serjeant at Arms to demand their persons, and Justice to be done upon them, instead of obedience to it, an order was made: That every man might rescue them, and apprehend the

Serjeant at Arms for doing it; which Parlament Records would blush at. And Queen *Elizabeth* (who was wont to answer her better composed Parlaments upon lesser occasions with a *Cavete ne patientiam Principis ladatis*, and caused *Parry* a Doctor of the Civill Laws and a Member of the house of Commons by the judgement and advice of as sage and learned a privy Councill and Judges as any Prince in Christendom ever had, to be hang'd drawn and quartered for Treason in the old Palace of *Westminster* when the Parlament was sitting) would have wondred at. And 4. of *January* 1641. desiring onely to bring them to a Legall tryall and examination, went in person to demand them, and found that his own peaceable behaviour, and fewer attendants (then the two Speakers of the Parlament had afterwards when they brought a whole Army at their heels, to charge and fright away eleven of their fellow members) had all manner of evil constructions put upon it, and that the Houses of Parlament had adjourned into *London*, and occasioned such a sedition amongst the people, as all the train bands of *London* must guard them by Land, when there was no need of it, and many Boats and Lighters armed with Sea-men and murdering pieces by water; and that unless he should have adventured the mischief and murder hath been since committed upon him, by those which at that time intended as much as they have done since; it was high time to think of his own safety, and of so many others were concerned in it having left *London* but the day be-

Camden Annalls Eliz. 99. 103.

Ibidem p. 391. 394. & 395.

before, (upon a greater cauſe of fear *then the Speakers of both Houſes of Parlament in* July 1647. *to go to the Army*) retires with the Prince his Son (whom the Parlament laboured to ſeize and take into their cuſtody) in his company towards *York*, 8. *January* 1641. A Committee of the Houſe of Commons ſitting in *London*, reſolved upon the queſtion; That *the Actions of the City of* London, *for the defence of the Parlament were according to Law, and if any man ſhould arreſt or trouble any of them for it, he is declared to be an enemy to the Common-wealth.* And when the King, to quiet the Parlament, 12. *January* 1641 was pleaſed to ſignifie that for the preſent he would wave his proceedings againſt the five Members and *Kimbolton*, and aſſures the Parlament that upon all occaſions he will be as carefull of their Priviledges as of his Life or his Crown: Yet the next day after, they Declared the Lord *Digby's* coming to *Kingſtone* upon *Thames* but with a Coach and ſix horſes in it, to be in a Warlike manner, and diſturbance of the Common-wealth; and take occaſion thereupon to order the Sheriffs of all Counties in *England* and *Wales*, with the aſſiſtance of the Juſtices of Peace and trayned bands of the ſeverall Counties to ſuppreſs any unlawfull Aſſemblies, and to ſecure the ſaid Counties and all the Magazines in them.

Vide the vote in M. Vicars Book entituled God in the mount. p. 78

Collect. of parl. and Decl. and Kings Meſ. and Decl. p. 50.

Ibid. 51.

Ibid. 52.

14 *January*, 1641. The King, by a ſecond Meſſage, profeſſeth to them he never had the leaſt intention of violating the leaſt priviledge of Parlament, and in caſe any doubt of breach of

of Priviledges remain; will be willing to clear that, and aſſert thoſe, by any reaſonable way his Parlament ſhall adviſe him to: But the deſign muſt have been laid by, or miſcarried, if that ſhould have been taken for a ſatisfaction; and therefore to make a quarrell which needed not, they Order the morrow after a Charge and Impeachment to be made ready againſt Sir *Edward Herbert* the Kings Attorney Generall, for bring-
Ibid. 53. ing into the Houſe of Peers the third of that inſtant *January*, by the Kings direction, a Charge or accuſation againſt *Kimbolton* and the five Members, &c.

In *February* 1641. Seize upon the Tower of
Ibid. 77. & 78. *London* (the great Magazine and Store-houſe of the Kingdom) and ſet ſome of the train-bands of *London*, commanded by Major Generall *Skippon* to guard it.

1. *March* 1641. Petition for the Militia, and tell him; *If he would not grant it, they would ſettle and diſpoſe of it without him*: And the morrow after reſolved upon the Queſtion, *That the Kingdom be forthwith put in a poſture of defence, in ſuch a way as was already agreed upon by both Houſes of Parlament*: and order the Earl of *Northumberland* Lord high-Admirall, to Rig, and ſend to Sea his Majeſties Navy; and notwithſtanding that the King 4 *March* 1641. by his Letter directed to the Lord Keeper *Littleton* had ſignified that he would wholly deſiſt from any proceedings againſt the five Members and *Kimbolton*: Sir *John Hotham*, a Member of the Houſe of Commons, (who before the the

the King had accuſed the five Members and *Kimbolton*, had by Order of Parliament ſeized upon the Town of *Hull*, the only fortified place of ſtrength in the Kingdom, and made a Gariſon of it) ſummoned and forced in many of the trayned Souldiers of the County of *York* to help him to guard it. *Vide the Petition of ſome Holdernes men to the King, 6. July, 1642*

And the eight of *March* 1641. before the King could get to *York*, it was voted, *That whatſoever the two Houſes of Parliament ſhould Vote or Declare to be Law, the people were bound to obey*: And when, not long after, the King offered to go in perſon to ſuppreſs the Iriſh Rebellion: That was *Voted to be againſt the Law, and an encouragement to the Rebells; and they Declare that whoſoever ſhall aſſiſt him in his voyage thither, ſhould be taken for an enemy to the Commonwealth.* And 15 of *March*, 1641. Reſolved upon the Queſtion, that the ſeverall Commiſſions granted under the great Seal to the Lievtenants of ſeverall Counties were illegall and void, and that whoſoever ſhould execute any power over the *Militia*, by colour of any ſuch Commiſſion, without conſent of both Houſes of Parliament, ſhould be accounted a diſturber of the Peace of the Kindom.

Aprill 1642. Sir *John Hotham* ſeizeth the Kings Magazine at *Hull*, and when the King went with a ſmall attendance to demand an entrance into the Town, denies him; though he had then no Order to do it: Notwithſtanding all which, the 28 of *April* 1642. they Vote, *That what he had done was in obedience to the* *Ibid.* 153.

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commands of both Houſes of Parliament, and that the Kings proclaiming him to be a Traytor was a high breach of priviledge of Parliament; And Ordered all Sheriffs and Officers to aſſiſt their Committees ſent down with thoſe their Votes to Sir John Hotham. In the mean time the Pulpits flame with ſeditious invectives againſt the King, and incitements to rebellion, and the people running headlong into it, had all manner of countenance and encouragement unto it; but thoſe Miniſters that preached obedience, and ſought to prevent it, were ſure to be impriſoned, and put out of their places for it.

Sir *Henry Ludlow* could be heard to ſay in the Houſe of Commons, that the King was not worthy to Reign in *England*; And *Henry Martin*, That the Kingly Office was forfeitable, and the happineſs of the Kingdom did not depend upon him and his Progeny: And though the King demanded Juſtice of them, were neither puniſhed nor put out of the Houſe, Nor ſo much as queſtioned or blamed for it.

The *Militia*, the principall part of the Kings regality, without which it was impoſſible either to be a King, or to govern, and the Sword which God had given him, (and his Anceſtors for more then a thouſand years together had enjoyed) and none in the Barons wars, nor any Rebellion of the Kingdom ſince the very being or eſſence of it, durſt ever heretofore preſume to ask for; muſt now be wreſtled for, and taken away from him.

The Commiſſions of Array, being the old legall

gall way by which the Kings of *England* had a power to raiſe and levy men for the defence of themſelves and the Kingdom, Voted to be illegall. The paſſage at Sea defended againſt him, and his Navy kept from him by the Earle of *Warwick*; whilſt the King all this while contenting himſelfe to be meerly paſſive, and only buſying himſelf in givinganſwers to ſome Parliament Meſſages and Declarations, and to woo and intreat them out of this diſtemper, cannot be proved to have done any one action like a War, or to have ſo much as an intention to do it, unleſs they can make his demanding an entrance into *Hull*, with about twenty of his Followers, unarmed, in his Company, and undertaking to return and leave the Governor in poſſeſſion of it, to be otherwiſe then it ought to be.

5. Of *May* 1642. The King being informed, that Sir *John Hotham* ſent out warrants to Conſtables to raiſe the trained bands of *Yorkſhire*, writes his letter to the Sheriff of that County to forbid the trained bands, and commands them to repair to their dwelling houſes. *Ibm.* 169. 170.

12 Of *May* 1642. Perceiving himſelfe every where endangered, and a moſt horrid Rebellion framing againſt him, and Sir *John Hotham* ſo neer him at *Hull*, as within a days journey of him; he moves the County of *York* for a troop of Horſe, conſiſting of the prime Gentry of that County, and a Regiment of the train-bands of Foot, to be for a guard unto him, & cauſed the oath of Allegiance to be adminiſtred unto them. *But the Parliament thereupon Vote, that it* *Collect. Parl. Dec.* 183 *Ibm.* 29.

appear-

appeared, the King seduced by wicked Counsell, intended to make a war against them (and til then if their own Votes should be true must acquitt him from any thing more then an intention, as they call it, to do it) *And whosoever should assist him are Traitors by the fundamentall Laws of the Kingdom.* The Earl *of Essex* Lord Chamberlain of the Kings Houshould, and all other of the Kings Houshould Servants forbid to go to him, and the Kings putting some of them out, and others in their places, *Voted to be an injury to the Parliament.* Messengers were sent for the apprehending of some Earls and Barons about him, and some of his Bed-Chamber, as if they had been Fellons. The Lord Keepers going to him with the great Seal when he sent for him, Voted *to be a breach of priviledge, and pursued with a warrant directed* to all Mayors, Bayliffs to apprehend him. *Cause the Kings Rents and Revennues to be brought in to them; and forbid any to be paid him; Many of his Officers and Servants put out of their places for being Loyall unto him, and those that were ill affected to him, put in their Rooms; and many of his own Servants tempted and procured by rewards and maintenance to tarry with them and be false and active against him.*

The twenty sixt day of *May* 1642. a Declaration is sent to the King; but printed and published before he could receive it: That *Whatsoever they should Vote, is not by Law to bee questioned, either by the King or Subjects; No precedent can limit or bound their proceedings. A*

Ibidem p. 297. & 298

Parlia-

Parliament may dispose of any thing wherein the King or people have any right. The Soveraign power resides in both Houses of Parliament. The King hath no Negative voyce. *The levying of Warre against the personall commands of the King, though accompanied with his presence, is not a levying of Warre against the King; but a levying War against his Laws and authority (which they have power to Declare) is levying of War against the King. Treason cannot be committed against his person otherwise then as he was intrusted. They have power to judge whether he discharge his trust or not; that if they should follow the highest precedents of other Parliaments Paterns, there would be no cause to complain of want of modesty or duty in them, and that it belonged only to them to judge of the Law.*

27 Of *May*, The King by his Proclamation, *forbids all his Subjects and trayned bands of the Kingdom to Rise, March, or Muster.* But the Parliament, on the same day *Command all Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace and Constables within one hundred & 50 miles of* York, *to seize and make stay of all Armes and Amunition going thither:* And Declaring the said Proclamation to bee voyd in Law; *Command all men to Rise, Muster, and March, and not to Muster or March by any other Authority or Commission*, and the Sheriffs of all Counties the morrow after, Commanded with the *posse Comitatus* to suppress any of the Kings Subjects that should be drawn thither by his Command; Secure and seize upon the Magazines of the Counties. Protect all that

Ibid. 301.

Ibid. 305.

that are Delinquents against him, make all to be Delinquents that attend him; and censure and put out of the House of Peers, nine Lords at once, for obeying the Kings summons and going to him.

3 *June* 1642. The King summoning the Ministers, Gentry, and Free-holders of the County of *York*, declared to them the reasons of providing himselfe a guard, and that he had no intention to make a War; and the morrow after forbad the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* to Muster and train the County of *Lincolne*, who under colour of an Ordinance of Parlament, for the *Militia*, had began to do it.

10. *June* 1642. The Parlament by a Declaration signifying, That the King intended to make a War against his Parlament; invited the Citizens of *London*, and all others, well affected (as they pleased to miscall them) within eighty miles of the City to bring money and plate into the *Guild-Hall London*, and to subscribe for Men, Horses, and Arms, *to maintain the Protestant Religion, the Kings Person and Authority; free course of Justice, Laws of the Land, and priviledges of Parlament*; and the morrow after send 19 propositions to the King; *That the great affairs of the Kingdom and Militia, may be mannaged by consent and approbation of Parlament, all the great Officers of Estate, Privy Councell, Ambassadors, and Ministers of State, and Judges to be chosen by them; that the Government, Education, and Marriage of the Kings Children be by their consent and approba-*

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tion, and all the Forts and Caſtles of the Kingdome under the Command and Cuſtody of ſuch as they ſhould approve of; and that no Peers to be made hereafter, ſhould ſit or vote in Parliament without the conſent of Parliament; with ſeveral other demands (which if the King ſhould have granted, would at once in effect, not onely have undone and put his ſubjects out of his protection, but have depoſed both himſelf and his poſterity) *and then they would proceed to regulate his Revenue, and deliver up the Town of* Hull *into ſuch hands as the King by conſent and approbation of Parliament ſhould appoint.* *Collect. of Par. Meſ. and Dec'. 370. 370.*

But the King having the ſame day before thoſe goodly demands came to his hands (being a greater breach of his former priviledges then his demanding of the five Members and *Kimbolton*, it it had not been lawfull for him ſo to doe, could be of theirs) granted a Commiſſion of Array for the County of *Leiceſter* to the Earl of *Huntington*, and by a letter ſent along with it, directed it for the preſent onely to Muſter and Array the Trained Bands. *Ibm. 346. & 348.*

And 13. *June* 1642. *Declared to the Lords attending him at* York, *That he would not engage them in any War againſt the Parliament, unleſs it were for his neceſſary defence:* whereupon the L. Keeper *Littleton*, who a little before had either been affrighted or ſeduced by the Parliament to vote their new Militia, The Duke of *Richmond*, Marqueſs *Hartford*, Earl *Ibid. 349. 350.*

of *Salisbury*, Lord *Gray* of *Ruthen* (now Earl of *Kent*) and divers Earls and Barons, engaged not to obey any Order or Ordinance concerning the Militia had not the Royal assent to it.

Ibid. 350. And fourteenth of *June* 1642. Being informed, *That the Parliament endeavoured to borrow great summs of money of the City of* London, *and that there was great labour used to perswade his Subjects to furnish horse and money, upon pretence of providing a guard for the Parliament:* By his letter to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs of *London* disavowing any purpose of making a War, declared; *That He had not the least thought of raising or using of Forces unless he should be compelled to doe it for his own defence*; and forbidden therefore, *the lending of money or raising of horses.*

And within two dayes after, the Lord Keeper, Duke of *Richmond*, Marquis *Hartford*, Earl of *Salisbury*, Lord *Gray* of *Ruthen*, with 17 Earls and 14 Barons, the Lord Chief Justice *Bancks*, and sundry others of eminent quality and reputation; attest His Majesties Declaration and profession that He had no intention to make a War, but abhorred it; and, That they perceived no Councels
Ibid. 356. or preparations *tending to any such designe*;
357. and sent it with His Majesties Declaration to the Parliament: In the mean time the Committee of Parliament (appointed to make the propositions to the City of

London,

of *London*, for the raiſing of Horſe) *viz.* 15. *June*, 1642. Made report to the Houſe of Commons; That the Citizens did very cheerfully accept the ſame, there being (for indeed there had been ſome deſign and reſolution a year before concerning the melting of plate to raiſe monies) already great ſtore of plate, and monies brought into *Guild-Hall*, for that purpoſe; and an Ordinance of Parlament was made for the Earl of *Warwick* to be Lord Admirall, and keep the Navy, though the King had commanded him on pain of treaſon to deliver up the Ships to him: And the Lord *Brook* ſent down into *Warwick-Shire* to ſettle the *Militia*.

17. *June*, 1642. Committee of both Houſes was appointed to go to the City of *London* to enquire what ſtore of Horſe, Monies, and Plate were already raiſed upon the Propoſitions.

18. *June*, 1642. The King by his Proclamation, *Diſclaiming any intention to make War againſt his Parlament forbiddeth all levies of Forces without his Majeſties expreſs pleaſure ſignified under his Great Seal.*

And 20. *June*, 1642. Informing all his Subjects, by his Proclamation of the Lawfulneſs of his Commiſſions of Aray; *That beſides many other Warrants and Authorities of the Law*; *Judge* Hutton *and Judge* Crooke *in their Arguments againſt the Ship-money, agreed them to be Lawfull*; and the Earle of *Eſſex* himſelf *had in the beginning of this Parlament* Collect. Par. Decl. 373. 374.

accepted of one for the County of York. Gave his people to understand; *That he had awarded the like Commissions into all the Counties of* England, *and Dominion of* Wales *to provide for, and secure them in a legall way; left under a pretence of danger, and want of Authority from his Majesty to put them into a Military posture, they should be drawn and engaged in any opposition against him, or his just Authority.*

Ibid. 376. But 21. *June*, 1642. The Lords and Commons in Parlament Declaring *The designe of their Propositions of raising Horse and Money was to maintain the Protestant Religion, and the Kings Authority and Person, and that the Forces already attending his Majestie, and his preparations* at first coloured under the pretence of a guard, (*being not so great a guard as they themselvs had constantly for 6 months before*) *did evidently appear to be intended for some great and extraordinary designe*(so as at this time also they do not charge the King with any manner of action of War, or any thing done in a way or course of war against them) and gave just cause of fear and jealousie to the Parlament(being never yet by any Law of God or man accounted to be a sufficient cause or ground for Subjects to make War against their Soveraign) did forbid all Mayors, Sheriffs, Bayliffs, and other Officers to publish His Majesties said Letter to the City of *London*, And Declare that if He should use any force for the recovery of *Hull*, or suppressing of their Ordinance for the

the *Militia*, it ſhould be held a levying Warr againſt the Parlament; and all this done before His Majeſty had granted any Commiſſion for the levying or raiſing of a man; and leſt the King ſhould have any manner of proviſion of War to defend himſelf, when their Army or Sir *John Hotham* ſhould come to aſſault him; Powder and Armes were every where ſeized on, and Cutlers, Gun-Smiths, Sadlers and all Warlike Trades ordered not to ſend any to *York*; but to give a weekly account what was made or ſold by them: And an Order made the 24 of *June*, 1642. *That the Horſes which ſhould be ſent in for the ſervice of the Parlament, when they came to the number of* 60. *ſhould be trained, and ſo ſtill as the number increaſed.*

4. *July* 1642. The King by his letter under his ſigne *Manuall* commanded all the Judges of *England* in their Circuits, to uſe all means to ſuppreſs Popery, Riots, and unlawfull aſſemblies, and to give the people to underſtand his reſolution to maintain the Proteſtant Religion, and the Laws of the Kingdom, and not to govern by any arbitrary way; and that if any ſhould give the King or them to underſtand of any thing wherein they held themſelves grieved, and deſired a juſt reformation, He would ſpeedily give them ſuch an anſwer as they ſhall have cauſe to thank him for his Juſtice and favour. But the ſame day a Declaration was publiſhed by both Houſes of Parlament, commanding that *Ibid.* 442. *Ibid.* 449.

no Sheriff, Mayor, Bayliff, Parſon, Vicar, Curate, or other (Sir *Richard Gurney* the Lord Mayor of *London*, not many days before having been impriſoned for proclaiming the Kings Proclamation againſt the bringing in of Plate, &c.) ſhould publiſh or proclaim any Proclamation, Declaration, or other paper in the Kings name which ſhould be contrary to any Order, Ordinance, or Declaration of
Ibid. 450. both the houſes of Parlament, or the proceedings thereof; and Order, that in caſe any force ſhould be brought out of one County into another to diſturb the peace thereof, they ſhould be ſuppreſſed by the Train Bands, and
Ibid. 453. Voluntiers of the adjacent Counties. Shortly after Sir *John Hotham* fortifieth the Town of *Hull*, whilſt the King is at *York*, ſeizeth on a Ship coming to him with proviſions for his Houſhold, takes Mr. *Aſhburnham* one of the
Ibid. 459. Kings ſervants priſoner, intercepts Letters ſent from the Queen to the King, and drowneth part of the Countrey round about the Town; which the Parlament allows of, and promiſe ſatisfaction to the owners.

5. *July* 1642. *They order a ſubſcription of Plate and Horſe to be made in every County, and liſt the Horſe under Commanders*; and the morrow after, Order 2000 men ſhould be ſent to relieve Sir *John Hotham* in caſe the King ſhould beſiege him; to which purpoſe Drums were beat up in *London*, and the adjacent parts to *Hull*, The Earl of *Warwick* Ordered to ſend Ships to *Humber* to his aſſiſtance, inſtruc-

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ctions drawn up to be ſent to the Deputy-Lieutenants of the ſeverall Counties to tender the Propoſitions for the raiſing of Horſes, Plate, and Money. Mr. *Haſtings* and divers of the Kings Commiſſioners of Array impeached for ſuppoſed high Crimes and miſdemeanours; and a Committee of five Lords and ten of the Houſe of Commons ordered to meet every morning for the laying out of ten thouſand pounds of the *Guild-Hall* moneys for the buying of 700 Horſe, and that 10000. Foot to be raiſed in *London* and the Country, be imployed by direction of the Parlament; and the Lord *Brook* is furniſhed with 6. pieces of Ordinance out of the Tower of *London* to fortifie the Caſtle of *Warwick*.

And 9. *July*, 1642. Order, *That in caſe the Earl of* Northampton *ſhould come into that County with a Commiſſion of Array, they ſhould raiſe the* Militia *to ſuppreſs him*; *And that the Common Counſell of* London *ſhould conſider of a way for the ſpeedy raiſing of the* 10000 *Foot, and that they ſhould be liſted, and put in pay within four days after.*

11. *July*, 1642. The King ſends to the Parlament to cauſe the Town of *Hull* to be delivered unto him, and deſires to have their anſwer by the 15 of that month, and as then had uſed no force againſt it: But the morrow after before that meſſage could come unto them they reſolve upon the Queſtion: That an Army *ſhall be forthwith raiſed for the defence of the Kings perſon and both houſes of Parlament*; *Ibid.* 452. *Ibid.* 457. *Ibid.* 457.

and those who have obeyed their Orders and Commands; in preserving the true Religion, the Laws, Liberties, and the Peace of the Kingdom; and that they would live and dye with the Earl of Essex, *whom they nominate Generall in that cause.*

And 12. *July* 1642. Declare; that, *they will protect all that shall be imployed in their assistance and* Militia.

And 16 *July* 1642. Petition the King *to forbear any preparations or actions of War; and to dismiss his extraordinary guards, to come nearer to them, and hearken to their advice:* but before the Petition could be answered, wherein the King offered when the Town of *Hull* should bee delivered to Him he would no longer have an *Army before it, and should be assured that the some pretence which took* Hull *from him, may not put a Garison into* Newcastle, (into which after the Parlaments surprise of *Hull*, He was inforced to place a Governour and a small Garrison) He would also *remove that Garrison, and so (as his Magazine and Navy might be delivered unto him; all Armies and Levies made by the Parlament laid down, the pretended Ordinance for the* Militia *disavowed, and the Parlament adjourned to a secure place he would lay down Arms and repair to them, and desired all differences might be freely debated in a Parlamentary way, whereby the Law might recover its due reverence, the Subiect his just Liberty, Parlaments their full vigour and estimation, and the whole Kingdom a blessed Peace and Prosperity, and requiring their answer by the 27. of that July, promised, til then,* not

Ibid. 465. & 483.

not to make any attempt of force upon Hull; had armed their General with power againſt him, given him a Commiſſion to kill and ſlay all that ſhould oppoſe him in the execution of it, and choſen their General of the Horſe.

8. *Auguſt*, 1642. Upon information that ſome of the Town of *Portſmouth* had revolted to Colonell *Goring* (being but ſent thither with a meſſage from the King) and Declared for his Majeſtie: Order forces to be ſent thither ſpeedily to beleaguer it by Land, and the Earle of *Warwick* to ſend thither 5. Ships of the Navy to preyent any forraign forces coming to their aſſiſtance, and upon Intelligence that the Earle of *Northampton* appeared with great ſtrength at *Banbury*, to hinder the Lo. *Brooks* for carrying the picces of Ordnance to *Warwick*; Ordered 5000 Horſe and Foot to be ſent to aſſiſt him.

9. *Auguſt* 1642. Upon information that the Marquis of *Hartford* and divers others were in *Somerſet-ſhire* demanding obedience to the Kings Commiſſion of Array, & to have the Magazine of the Connty to be delivered unto them: Gave power to the Earl of *Eſſex* their Lord Generall, the Lord *Brook* and others to apprehend the Marquis of *Hartford*, and Earl of *Northampton*, and their complices, and to kill and ſlay all that ſhould oppoſe them. And the day following gave the Earle of *Stamford* a Commiſſion to raiſe forces for the Suppreſſing of any ſhould attempt for the King in *Leiceſter-ſhire* or the adjacent Counties.

And

And on the eleventh of *August*, 1642, Upon the Kings Proclamation, two days before declaring the Earl of *Essex* and all that should adhere unto him in the levying of Forces, and not come in and yield to His Majesty within six days to be Traytors: vote the said Proclamation to be against the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom; Declare their resolutions to maintain and assist the Earl of *Essex*; and *resolve to spend no more time in Declarations and Petitions, but to endeavour by raising of Forces to suppress the Kings Party* (though all that the Kings loyal Subjects did at that time for Him, was but to execute the Commission of Array in the old legal way of the *Militia*) and within a day or two after ordered the Earl of *Essex* their Lord General to set forth with his Army of Horse upon the Monday following; but not so much as an Answer would be afforded to the Kings Message sent from *Hull*, where, whilst He with patience and hope forbore any action, or attempt of force, according to His promise, Sir *John Hotham* sallied out in the night, and murdered many of his fellow-subjects.

12 *August*, 1642. The King, though He might well understand the great leavies of Men and Arms ready to march against Him, by a Declaration published to all his Subjects, assures them; *as in the presence of God; That all the Acts passed by Him in this Parliament should be as equally observed, as those which most of all concerned His own interest and rights;*

and

and that his quarrel was not againſt the Parliament, but particular men; and therefore deſired, That the Lord Kimbolton, *Mr.* Hollis, *Sir* Hen: Ludlow, *Sir* Arthur Haſilrig, *Mr.* Strode, *Mr.* Martin, *Mr.* Hampden, *Alderman* Pennington, *and Captain* Venne, *might be delivered into the hands of Juſtice, to be tried by their Peers, according to the known Laws of the Land; and againſt the Earls of* Eſſex, Warwick, Stamford, *Lord* Brooks, *Sir* John Hotham, *Major General* Skippon, *and thoſe who ſhould exerciſe the* Militia *by vertue of the Ordinance, he would cauſe Indictments to be drawn of high Treaſon upon the Statute of* 25 Edw. 3. *and if they ſubmit to trial, and plead the Ordinance, would reſt ſatisfied if they ſhould be acquitted.* But when this produced as little effect as all other endeavours He had uſed for peace, He that ſaw the *Hydra* in the mud and ſlime of Sedition, in its *Embrio*, birth and growth, and finds him now erected ready to devour him; muſt now (though very unwilling to caſt off His beloved Robe of Peace, forſake an abuſed patience, and believe no more in the hopes of other remedies had ſo often deceived Him: but if He will give any account to the Watchman of *Iſrael* of the People committed to his charge; or to the people of his protection of them, or any manner of ſatisfaction to his own judgment and diſcretion) betake Himſelf to the Sword which God had intruſted Him with: and therefore makes the beſt uſe He could

could of those few friends were about Him, and with the money which the Queen had not long before borrowed, and the small supplies He had obtained of His Servants and Friends about *Him* (who pawned and engaged their Plate, Jewels and Lands for Him) with those Lords and Gentlemen that willingly offered to bear Him company in His Troubles; provides what Men and Arms He could in His way towards *Nottingham*, where He intended to set up his Standard.

But the Parliament about the 23 of *August*, 1642. having received some information that He intended to set up his Standard at *Nottingham*, Declare: That *now it appears to all the world, that there is good ground of their fears and jealousies* (which if ever there had been any, as there was no cause at all of any more than that meaning to murder and ruine Him, they were often affraid He should take notice of it, and seek to defend Himself; there was by their own confession till this time no manifest or certain ground appearing, that He intended to defend Himself against the Parliament) and therefore order: *That all that shall suffer in their Estates by any force raised by the King, without consent of Parliament, shall have full reparation of their damages out of the Estates of the actors, and out of the Estates of all such persons in any part of the Kingdome, who should persist to serve the King in this War against the Parliament*; and *That it should be lawfull for any number of per-*

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ſons to joyn and defend themſelves; and, That the Earl of Eſſex, *their Generall ſhould grant out Commiſſions for Levying and conducting forces into the Northern parts, And Sir* John Hotham *the Governour of* Hull *aſſiſt them; and command alſo the Sheriffs of the County of* York *and the adjacent Counties, with the power of the Counties, and Trained Bands to aid them, and to ſeize upon all that ſhall execute the Commiſſion of Array for his Majeſtie*, who was thus ſufficiently beſet by thoſe that intended what ſince they have brought to paſs againſt Him.

25. *Auguſt*, 1642. (being ſome days after the Earle of *Bedford* had marched with great forces into the *Weſt*) that His Subjects might be informed of His danger, and repair to his Succour; ſetting up his Standard at *Nottingham*; being a thing of meer legall neceſſity; if He would have any at all to come to help Him, and not forfeit and ſurpriſe thoſe that by tenure of their Lands or by reaſon of Offices, Fees, or, Annuities enjoyed under Him, were more immediately bound to aſſiſt Him.

And yet here He muſt weep over *Jeruſalem*; and once again intreat the Parlament and His Rebellious Subjects to prevent their own miſeries; and therefore ſends the Earls of *Southampton* and *Dorſet* to the Parlament to deſire a Treaty, offering to do all on His own part which might advance the Proteſtant Religion, oppoſe Popery and Superſtition, and ſecure the Laws and Liberties of His Subjects, and juſt priviledges of Parlament: Which

Which after severall scorns put upon those noble Messengers, as denying the Earle of *Southampton* to come and sit in the House of Peers (as a right by birth and inheritance due to him) and causing the Serjeant at Arms of the House of Commons to go before him with the Macê as they use to do before Delinquents: They refuse to accept of, unless the King *would first take down His Standard, and recall his Declarations and Proclamations against them.* To which the King the 5. *September* 1642. (notwithstanding the Earl of *Bedford* had with great forces in the mean time besieged the Marquis of *Hartford* in the Castle of *Sherborn* in *Dorset shire*) replying, *That he never did Declare, or intended for to Declare both his houses of Parlament to be Traitors, or set up his* Standard *against them: much less to put them and the Kingdom out of his protection:* And utterly protesting against it, *before God and the World, offered to recall his Declarations and Proclamations with all cheerfullness the same day that they should revoke their Declarations against those that had assisted him;* and desiring a Treaty, and conjuring them to *consider the bleeding condition of* Ireland, *and the danger of* England, *undertakes to be ready to grant any thing shall be really good for his Subjects;* which being brought by the Lord *Falkland*, one of his Majesties Secretaries of State, and a Member of the House of Commons, and not long before in a very great esteem with them (all the re-

reſpect could be afforded him being to ſtand at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons, and deliver his Meſſage to them) had oneiy an anſwer in a printed Declaration of the Lords and Commons returned unto him, That it was Ordered and Declared by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, *That the Armes which they have been forced to take up, or ſhall be forced to take up, for the preſervation of the Parliament, Religion, and the Lawes and Liberties of the Kingdome, ſhall not be laid down until his Majeſty ſhall withdraw his protection from ſuch Perſons as have been voted by both Houſes of Parliament to be Delinquents, or that ſhall by both Houſes of Parliament be voted to be Delinquents* (which after their mad way of voting might have been himſelf, his Queen, or his Heir apparent) *and leave them to the Juſtice of Parliament according to their demerits, to the end that thoſe great charges and damages wherewithal the Commonwealth hath been burthened ſince his Majeſty departed from the Parliament, might be born by the Delinquents and other malignant and diſ-affected perſons, and that thoſe who by Loans of money or otherwiſe at their charges have aſſiſted the Commonwealth, or ſhall in like manner hereafter aſſiſt the Commonwealth in times of extream danger* (and here they would alſo provide for future friends and quarrels) *may be re-paid all ſumms of money lent for thoſe purpoſes, and ſatisfied their charges ſuſtained as out of the eſtates of the ſaid Delinquents, and of the Malignant and diſ-affected Party in this Kingdome.* And

And to make good their words of 8. *September* 1642. Before their answer could come unto the Kings hands, Ordered certain numbers of horse and foot to be sent to Garrison and secure *Oxford*, and the morrow after (before the King could possibly reply unto it) their Lord General, the Earl of *Essex* marched out of *London* against him with 20000 men, horse and foot, gallantly armed, and a great train of Artillery to attend him; notwithstanding all which, and those huge impossibilities every day more and more appeared of obtaining a Peace with those who were so much afraid to be losers by it, as they never at all intended it.

The King must needs send one message more unto them, to try if that might not give them some occasion to send Him gentle conditions; and therefore 13. *September* 1642. (Being the same day they had impeached the Lord *Strange* of High-treason for executing the Kings Commission of *Array*, and Ordered the propositions for furnishing of horse, plate, and money, to be tendred from house to house, in the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and to be sent into all the Shires and Counties of *England* to be tendred for the same purpose, and the names of the refusers to be certified.) Mr. *May*, one of the Pages to the King, comes to the Lords House in Parliament, with a Message from Him, bearing date but two dayes before; *That although He had used all wayes and means to pre-*

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vent the present distractions and dangers of the Kingdome, all his labours have been fruitless, that not so much as a Treaty, earnestly desired by him, can be obtained (though he disclaimed all his Proclamations and Declarations, and the erecting of his Standard *as against his Parliament) unless he should devide himself of all force to defend him from a visible strength marching against him; That now he had nothing left in his power but to express the deep sense he had of the publick misery of the Kingdome, and to apply himself to a necessary defence, wherein he wholly relied upon the providence of God and the affection of his good People, and was so far from putting them out of his protection, as when the Parliament should desire a Treaty, he would piously remember whose blood is to be spilt in this quarrel, and cheerfully embrace it.*

But this must also leave them as it found them, in their ungodly purposes; for the morrow after being the 14. day of *September* 1642. Mr. *Hampden*, one of the five *Members* (by this time a Colonel of the Army) brings letters to the House of Commons from the Parliaments Lord General, that he was at *Northampton* in a very good posture, and that great numbers of the Countrey thereabouts came in daily unto him, and offered to march under him, and that so soon as all his forces that are about *London* shal come up unto him, which he desires may be hastened, he intended to advance towards his Majesty: and it was the same day voted, That all things seal-

ed by the Kings Seal ſince it was carried away by the Lord Keeper *Littleton*, ſhould be Null, and of no force in the Law, and that a new Seal ſhould be provided.

The King therefore ſeeing what he muſt truſt to, 19. *September* 1642. being at *Wellington* in *Shrop-ſhire* in the head of ſuch ſmall forces and friends as he could get together, (for the Parlament that very day had received letters, That the King but the week before, having a muſter at *Nottingham*, there appeared but about 3000 foot, and 2000. horſe, and 1500 dragoons; and that a great part of his men were not provided with arms) made his Proteſtation and promiſe as in the preſence *of Almighty God, and as He hoped for his bleſſing and protection, to maintain to the utmoſt of his power the true reformed Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of* England, *and that he deſired to govern by the known Laws of the Land, and that the Liberty and property of the Subject ſhould bee preſerved with the ſame care as his own juſt rights, and to obſerve inviolably the Laws conſented to by him in this Parlament, and promiſed as in the ſight of Almighty God, if He would pleaſe by his bleſſing upon that Army raiſed for his neceſſary defence, to preſerve him from that rebellion, to maintain the juſt priviledges and freedom of Parlament, and govern by the known Laws of the Land. In the meanwhile, if this time of War, and the neceſſity and ſtraights he was driven to, ſhould beget any violation of them, he hoped it would be imputed by* God

Ibm. 614.

God and man to the Authors of the War, and not to him who had ſo earneſtly deſired and laboured for the peace of the Kingdome, and preſervation thereof; and that when He ſhould fail in any of thoſe particulars, He would expect no aid or relief from any man, or protection from Heaven.

And now that the ſtage of War ſeems to be made ready, and the Parliament party being the better furniſhed, had not ſeldome ſhewed themſelves, and made ſeverall traverſes over it (for indeed the King having ſo many neceſſities upon him, and ſo out of power and proviſion for it, might in that regard only if He had not been ſo unwilling to have any hurt come to his people by his own defending of himſelf, be backward & unwillingly drawn unto it, we may do well to ſtand by and obſerve who cometh firſt to act upon it.

22. Of *September* 1642. The Earl of *Eſſex* writeth from *Warwick* that he was upon his march after the King and before the 6. of *October* following had written to the County of *Warwick* with all ſpeed to raiſe their Trained bands and Voluntiers to reſiſt his Forces if they ſhould come that way, and to the three Counties of *Northampton*, *Leiceſter* and *Derby* to gather head and reſiſt him if he ſhould retire into thoſe parts; and by all that can bee judged of a matter of fact, ſo truly and faithfully repreſented, muſt needs be acknowledged to have great advantages of the King, by the City and Tower of *London*, Navy, Shipping, Armes, Ammunition, the Kings Maga-

zine, all the ſtrong Towns of the Kingdom, moſt of the Kingdoms plate and money, the Parliaments credit and high eſteem, which at that time the people Idolized; the fiery Zeal of a ſeditious Clergy to preach the people into a Rebellion, and the people headlongly running into the witchcraft of it: When the King on the other ſide had little more to help him then the Laws and Religion of the Land, which at that time every man began to miſconſtrue and pull in pieces, had neither men, horſe, arms, ammunition, ſhips, places of ſtrength, nor money, not any of his party or followers, after the Parliament had as it were proclamed a War againſt him, could come ſingle or in ſmall numbers through any Town or Village, but were either openly aſſaulted, or ſecretly betrayed, no man could adventure to ſerve or own him, but muſt expoſe himſelf and his Eſtate to be ruined either by the Parliament or people, or ſuch as for malice or profit would inform againſt him. All the gains and places of preferment were on the Parliaments part, and nothing but loſſes and misfortunes on the Kings: No man was afraid to goe openly to the Parliaments ſide, and no man durſt openly ſo much as take acquaintance of his Soveraign, but if he had done a quarter of that which *Ziba* did to *David* when he ſent the 200 loaves of bread, or old *Barzillai*, or *Ittai* the *Guttite*, when he went along with him when his Son *Abſalom* rebelled againſt

gainſt him, They ſhould never have eſcaped ſo well as they did, but have been ſure to be undone and ſequeſtred for it. So much of the affections of the people had the Parliament coſened and ſtoln from them, ſo much profit and preferment had they to perſwade it, and ſo much power to enforce thoſe, that otherwiſe had not a mind to it, to fight againſt him; Who thus every way encompaſſed about with dangers, and like a *Partridge* hunted upon the Mountains, marcheth from *Shrewsbury* towards *Banbury*, perſwading and picking up what help and aſſiſtance his better ſort of Subjects durſt adventure to afford him: in the way to which;

On *Sunday* the 23. of *October* 1642. (for they thought it better to rob God of his *Sabbath*, than loſe an opportunity of murthering their Soveraign) the Earl of *Eſſex* and Parliament-Army powring in from all quarters of the Kingdom upon him, had compaſſed him in on all ſides; and before the King could put his men in Battel-Array, (many of whom being young Country fellows, had no better armes than clubs and ſtaves in their hands, cut out of the hedges) and put his two young Sons, the Prince of *Wales* and the Duke of *York*, in the guard of a Troop of horſe at the further end of the field, and had finiſhed a ſhort prayer, a bullet of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Cannon grazed at his heels as he was kneeling at his prayers on the ſide of a bank (for *Blague*, a villain in

in the Kings Army, having a great penſion allowed him for it, had given notice in what part of the field the King ſtood, that they might the better know how to ſhoot at him.) But God having a greater care of his Anointed than of their Rebellious pretences, ſo ordered the hands of thoſe that fought for the King, as the Earl of *Eſſex* was ſo loaden with Victories, as he left five of his men, for one of the Kings, dead behind him; loſt his Baggage and Artillery, retired back to *Warwick*, and left the King to bleſs God in the field; where he ſupped with ſuch victuals as the more loyal and better natur'd neighbours ſent him, when the worſer ſort refuſed to do it, and lying there all night, ſent warrants out the next day to the neighbour Pariſhes to bury the dead; drew off his Ordnance, and marched to *Banbury*, and yet he could not forget to pity thoſe were at ſuch paines and hazard the day before to murther Him, but before he went out of the field ſent Sir *William Le-neve Clarencieux*, King of Armes to *Warwick*, whither the Earl of *Eſſex* was fled, with a Proclamation of pardon to all that would lay down armes; which though they ſcornfully received, and the Herald threatned to be hanged if he did not depart the ſooner, cannot perſwade Him from ſending a Declaration or Meſſage to the Parliament, to offer them all that could be requeſted by Subjects; but all the uſe they made of it was to make the City of *London* believe they were

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in greater danger than ever, if they lent them not more moneys, and recruited the Earl of *Essex* his broken Army; and to cosen and put the people on the more to seek their own misery, a day of Thanksgiving was publiquely kept for the great Victory obtained against the King. And *Stephen Marshall*, a Factious bloody Minister, though he confessed he was so carried on in the crowd of those that fled from the battel, as he knew not where he was till he came to a Market-Town which was some miles from *Edge-hill*, where the Battel was fought, preaches to the people. (too little believing the Word of God, and too much believing him:) that to his knowledge there was not above 200. men lost on the Parliaments side; that he picked up bullets in his black velvet cap, and that a very small supply would now serve to reduce the King, and bring him to his Parliament.

And here ye may see *Janus* Temple wide open, though the doors of it were not lift off the hinges, or broken open at once, but pickt open by those either knew not the misery of the War, or knowing it, will prove to be the more guilty promoters of it. That we may the better therefore find out (though the matter of Fact already represented may be evidence enough of it self) who it was that let out the fury and rage of War upon us, we shall consider;

CHAP. II.

Whether a Prince or other Magistrate, labouring to suppress, or punish a Rebellion of the People, be tied to those rules are necessary for the justifying of a War, if it were made between equals.

WAr was first brought in by necessity, where the determining of controversies between two strange Princes of equal Power, could not be had, because they have no superiour: A Rebel therefore cannot properly be called an enemy, for *Hostis nomen notat æqualitatem*; and when any such Arms are borne against Rebels, it is not to be called a War, but an Exercise of Jurisdiction upon trayterous and disloyal Persons, *atque est ratio manifesta*, saith *Albericus Gentilis*, *qui enim jure judex est & superior, non jure cogitur ad subeundas partes partis & æqualis, & non est bellum cum latronibus prædonibus aut piratis quanquam magnos habeant exercitus, & proinde nec ulla cum illis belli jura*, saith *Besoldus*: The *Romans* who were so exact and curious in their publick denouncing of War, and sending Ambassadors before they made War against any other Nation, did not do it in cases of Rebellion and defection; and therefore

Alber. Gentil. 223.

Besoldus in dissert. de jure Belli 77. & 78.

fore *Fidenatibus & Campanis non denunciant Romani.* And *Cicero*, that was of opinion, that *nullum bellum justum haberi videtur nisi nunciatum, nisi indictum nisi repetitis rebus* stood not upon those solemnities in the *Catoline conspiracy*; for the rules of justifying a War against an enemy or equals as demanding restitution, denunciation, and the like, are not requisite in that of punishing Rebels; *Pompey* justifies the War maintained by the Senate against *Cæsar* (not then their Soveraign) with *neque enim vocari prælia justa decent &c. Cicero* did not think it convenient to send Ambassadors to *Anthony*, nor intreat him by faire words; but that it was meet to inforce him by arms to raise his siege from *Mutina*; for he said, *They had not to do with* Hannibal *an enemy to the Commonwealth, but with a rebellious Citizen.* The resisting of the Kings Authority when the Sheriff of a County goes with the *posse Comitatus*, to execute it, was never yet so much as called a War, but Rebellion and Insurrection, or Commotion, were the best terms bestowed upon it [such attempts are not called Wars, but Robberies, of which the Law taketh no other care of, but to punish them] The haste that all our Kings and Princes in *England* have made in suppressing Rebellions (as that of the Barons Wars by *Henry* the 3. and his sending his Sonne the Prince to besiege *Warren* Earl of *Surrey* in his Castle of *Rygate*, for affronting the Kings Justices, saying, *That he would hold his Lands*

Lib. Alber. 23.

Lucan. li. 2.

Cicero Philipic. 5.

by

by the Sword: That which *Rich.* 2. made to ſuppreſs *Wat. Tiler*, *H.* 6. *Jack Cade*, *H.* 8. *Ket* and the *Norfolk* Rebels, and Queen *Elizabeth* to ſuppreſs the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmerland*) may tell us that they underſtood it no otherwiſe than all the Kings and Magiſtrates of the world have ever practiſed it [by the Laws of *England*, if Engliſhmen that are Traytors go into *France*, and confederate with *Aliens* or *Frenchmen*, and come afterwards and make a War in *England* and be taken priſoners, the ſtrangers may be ranſomed, but not the *Engliſh*, for they were the Kings Subjects, and are to be reckoned as Traytors, not ſtrangers:] And the Parliaments own advice to the King to ſuppreſs the Iriſh Rebels that ploughed but with their own Heyfer, and pretended as they did to defend their Religion, Laws and Liberties; and the opinion alſo of Mr. Preſident *Bradſhaw* (as Sir *John Owen* called him in his late ſentence given againſt the Earls of *Cambridge*, *Holland*, and *Norwich*, Lord *Capel* and Sir *John Owen*, whom he miſtakenly (God and the Law knows) would make to be the Subjects of their worſer fellow-Subjects, may be enough to turn the queſtion out of doors.

But leſt all this ſhould not be thought ſufficient to ſatisfie thoſe can like nothing but what there is Scripture for, we ſhall a little turn over the leaves of that ſacred Volume, and ſee what is to be found concerning this matter.

Moſes

Moſes who was the meekeſt Magiſtrate in the world, and better acquainted with him that made the fifth Commandement, than theſe that now pretend Revelations againſt it; thought fit to ſuppreſs the rebellion of *Corah*, *Dathan* and *Abiram* as ſoone as he could; and for no greater offence than a deſire to be coordinate with him, procured them to be buried alive, with all that appertained unto them.

When *Abſolom* had rebelled againſt his father *David*, and it was told him, *That the hearts of the men of Iſrael were after him*, *David*, a man after Gods own heart, without any meſſage of peace, or Declaration ſent unto his dear ſon *Abſolom*, or offering half or any part of his Kingdome to him, ſent three ſeveral Armies to purſue and give him battell. 2 Sam. 15.

When *Sheba* the ſonne of *Bichri* blew a Trumpet and ſaid, *We have no part in* David, *every man to his tent*, *O Iſrael*; *and thereupon every man of Iſrael followed after him and forſook their King*; *David* (who knew that *Moſes* would not make a War upon the *Amorites*, though he had Gods commandement for it without offers of peace, and meſſengers ſent firſt unto them) ſaid to *Amaſa*, *Aſſemble me the men of Judah within three daies*; and when he tarried longer, ſaid unto him, *Take thou thy Lords Servants and purſue after him*, *leſt he get him fenced Cities*, *and eſcape us*. 2 Sam. 20.

For

For they that would take heed of Cocatri-
Bodm, page ces, have ever uſed to kill them in the ſhell.
736. And *diligenti cuique Imperatori ac magiſtratui danda eſt opera* (ſaith *Bodin*) *ut non tam ſeditiones tollere quam præoccupare ſtudeat.* For ſedition (ſaith he) once kindled, like a ſpark of fire, blown by popular fury, may ſoone fire a whole City than be extinguiſhed. *Ita tales igitur peſtes opprimere derepenté neceſſe eſt*; Princes and Soveraigns who are bound to protect and defend their Subjects, are not to ſtand ſtill, and ſuffer one to oppreſs another, and themſelves to be undone by it afterwards.

But put the caſe the Parliament could have been called a Parliament when they had driven away the King, which is the Head and Life of it, or could have been ſaid to have been two Houſes of Parliament, when there was not at that time above a third part of the Houſe of Peers, nor the half of the Houſe of Commons remaining in them, and what thoſe few did in their abſence was either forced by a Faction of their own, or a party of ſeditious *Londoners* (for indeed the Warre rightly conſidered, was not betwixt the Parliament and the King, but a War made by a factious and ſeditious part of the Parliament againſt the King, and the major part of the Parliament) and had been (as it never was nor could be by the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Kingdom) coordinate and equal with the King, and joint-tenants of the Kingdom;

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it would have been neceſſary to make a War as juſt as they could, and to have done all that had been in order to it: and therefore we hope they which pretend ſo much to the Juſtice of the Kingdom, will not be offended to have the Juſtice of their Wars ſomthing examined.

CHAP. IV.

Suppoſe the Warre to be made with a neighbour-Prince, or between equals; Whether the King or Parliament were in the defenſive or juſtifyable part of it.

PLerique ſaith learned *Grotius*, *tres ſtatuunt bellorum juſtas cauſas, defenſionem, recuperationem & punitionem.* For any defence the Parliament might pretend a neceſſity of, The King neither aſſaulted them, nor uſed any violence to them when they firſt of all granted out their Propoſitions and Commiſſions of War, unleſs they can turn their jealouſies into a *Creed*, and make the Kings demanding the five Members and *Kimbolton* (being done by warrant of the Law of the Land, and the Records and precedents of their own Houſes) appear to be an aſſaulting of them. Or if any reaſonable man knew but how to make

H. Grotius de jure pacis & belli.

make that to be an assault, or a necessary cause of War for them to revenge it; the Kings waving and relinquishing of his charge afterwards against them, might have certainly been enough to have taken away the cause of it (if there had been any) howsoever, a War made onely to revenge a bare demand or request of a thing and was neither so much as forced or a second time demanded of them, but totally laid aside and retracted, can never be accounted just.

As for the recovery of things lost, or taken away, The Parliament it self, had nothing taken from them, for both they and the people were so far from being loosers at that time by the King, as the Remonstrance of the house of Commons made to the people 15. *December* 1641. of the Kings errours (as they please to call them) in the government (but indeed the errours rather of his Ministers and themselves also, in busying him with brawles and quarrells and denying to give him fitting supplies) mentions how much and how many benficeial Laws the King had granted them. And so the Parliament and People being no loosers, and the King never denying them any thing could in honour or conscience be granted them; That part of the justifying of a War will no way also belong to them.

Collect. of Mess. R. mon. st. and Declar. 15. *Ibm.* 45. *&c.*

But if the punishment for offences and injuries past (if they could be so properly called) being a third cause of justifying a War,

could

could be but imagined to be a cauſe to juſtifie the Parliaments war againſt the King; Yet they were to remember another Rule or Law of War, *Ne nimis veteres cauſæ accerſentur.* That they do not pick quarrels by raking up paſt grievances, that it be not *propter leviuſculas injurias*; or for trifles. For when the King (who if he had been no more then coordinate with them) had called them to Councell to to adviſe him, followed their advice in every thing he could find any reaſon for, taken away all grievances, made a large proviſion to prevent them for the future, by granting the Trienniall Parliament, and ſo large an amends for every thing they could but tell how to complain of; there was ſo little left to the People and the Parliament to quarrell for, as they were much behind in thankfulneſs for what they had got of him already. *Beſoldus in diſſert. philolog. p.* 38.

Or if any other cauſes or provocations ſhould be imagined as miſuſing the Parliaments Meſſengers, or the like; we know the King (unleſſe it were by his patience and often Meſſages for peace) was guilty of no provocations; but on the contrary, though hee had all manner of ſcornes and reproaches caſt upon him, and his meſſengers evil entreated by them, could never be brought to return or retaliate it to any of theirs.

But nothing as yet ſerving to excuſe them, It will not be amiſs to examine the cauſes as they are ſet down by themſelves, to juſtifie their

their war, and ſo we may well ſuppoſe there are no other.

A war againſt the King for ſafety of his own Perſon was needleſs (and then it comes within that rule of war and law of Nations, *Ne leves ſint cauſæ belli*,, not to make a warre unneceſſary: for the King would look to that himſelf; and as they were his Subjects they, as well as every honeſt Subject were bound to defend and aſſiſt him, but not whether he would or no; and in ſuch a way of defence, as would tend to his ruine rather then his ſafety. For ſurely ſhould any ſtranger of another Kingdom or Nation have caſually paſſed by *Edge-hill* when the Kings and the Parliaments Armies were in fight, and have been told that the King ſhot at them for the ſafety of his own *Perſon*, and that they alſo ſhot againſt him for the ſafety of his own *Perſon*; and being asked which of the two parties hee believe did really or moſt of all intend the ſafety of it? we cannot tell how to think any man ſuch a ſtranger to nature, reaſon or underſtanding, as to think the King ſhould not fight as the Dictates of nature perſwaded him to: or that the King could tell how to fight againſt thoſe that fought for him: or that if he ſhould be ſo hugely miſtaken in that one year or *Battell*, he ſhould be in ſeverall other years and Battells after.

To fight for the defence of the Religion eſtabliſhed (as they made alſo the people believe) that was as needleſs; when the King offered

offered to do every thing might help to promote it: and they are so little also to be credited in that pretence, as we know they did all they could from the beginning to ruine it; took away *Episcopacy*, the hedge and bounds of it, brought in *Presbytery* to preach up and aid their *Rebellion*, and when their own turnes were served, encouraged *Conventicles* and *Tub Preachers* to pull down the *Presbytery*: And being demanded at the Treaty at *Uxbridge* by the Kings Commissioners what Religion they would have the King to establish, were so unprovided of an answer, as they could not resolve what to nominate, nor in any of their propositions afterwards sent to the King, though often urged and complained of by the *Scottish* Commissioners, could ever find the way to doe it, but have now set up an *Independent* extemporary enthusiastick kind of worshiping God (if there were any such thing in it) or rather a religious *Chaos* or gallimaufry of all manner of heresie,, errours, blasphemies, and opinions put together, not any of the owners of which we can be confident will subscribe to that opinion, that Wars may be made for Religion, or that Conscience ought to be forced by it.

As for the restrictive part of the Lawes, to keep the people in subjection, we can very well perswade our selves no such War was ever made yet in the world, nor any people ever found that would engage in a War for

that they obeyed, but againſt their wills: And for that part of the law that gives them the Kings protection, priviledges, immunities, and certainties of deciding controverſies (which are more fitly to be called the Liberties of the people, than to have 45. of the houſe of Commons, or a Faction to make daily and hourly Lawes, and Religion, and Government, and vote their eſtates in and out to pay an Army, to force their obedience to it) if we had not outlived the Parliaments diſguiſes and pretences, ſaw them now tearing up by the roots, that there may be no hope of their growing up again, and ſetting up their own, as well as the *ignorant* and illiterate *fancies* of Mechanicks and *Souldiers* in ſtead of them; we might have ſaid that alſo had been needleſs, when the King had done abundantly enough already; and offered to grant any thing more could in reaſon be demanded of him.

And as touching their priviledges of Parliament, they that underſtand but any thing of the Lawes of *England*, or have but looked into the Records and Journals of Parliament, can tell that all priviledges of Parliament (as King *James* ſaid) were at firſt beſtowed upon them by the Kings and Princes of this Kingdom, That priviledges of Parliament extended not to *Treaſon* or *Felony*, or *breach* of the Peace. That 32 *Hen.* 6. Sir *Thomas Thorp* Speaker of the Houſe of *Commons*, being arreſted in execution in the time of

of the prorogation of the Parliament, the Commons demanded he might be ſet at liberty according to their priviledges: whereupon the Judges being asked their Councel therein, made anſwer, *That general ſuperſedeas of Parliament there was none; but ſpecial ſuperſedeas there was; in which caſe of ſpecial ſuperſedeas, every member of the Houſe of Commons ought to enjoy the ſame, unles in cauſes of Treaſon, Felony, or breach of the Peace,* or for a *Condemnation* before the Parliament: After which anſwer it was determined, that the ſaid Sir *Thomas Thorp* ſhould lie in execution, and the Commons were required on the behalf of the King to chooſe a new *Speaker*, which they did, and preſented to the King accordingly. That Queen *Elizabeth* was aſſured by her Judges, that ſhe might commit any of her Parliament during the Parliament, for any offence committed againſt her Crown and Dignity, and they ſhewed her precedents for it; and that *primo & tertio Caroli Regis*, upon ſearch of precedents in the ſeveral great caſes of the Earls of *Arundel* and *Briſtol*, very much inſiſted and ſtood upon, the Houſe of Peers in Parliament allowed of the exception of Treaſon, Felony, and breach of the Peace.

For indeed it is as impoſſible to think there can be any priviledge to commit Treaſon, as to think that a King ſhould priviledge all his Nobility, and every one of his Subjects that could get to be elected into the

House of Commons in Parliament, to commit Treason, and to take away his life in the time of Parliament, whensoever their revenge, or malice, or interest should finde the opportunity to do it; or that, if it could be so, any King or Prince would ever call or summon a Parliament to expose himself to such a latitude of danger, or give them leave to sit as long as they would to breed it; or that priviledges of *Treason* can be consistent with the name or being of a Parliament to consult or advise with the King for the defence of Him and his Kingdome; or that when Felony and breach of Peace are excepted out of their priviledge, Treason, that is of a far higher nature, consequence, and punishment, should be allowed them; or if there could have been any such priviledge, and a meaner man than their Soveraign had broke it, a small understanding may inform them they could not, without breach of the Peace, have fought for it against a fellow-subject, and then also could not their priviledges have reached to it, but the King might have punished them for it: and if they cannot upon a breach of priviledge (as it was adjudged in *Halls* case) without the Kings Writ, and the cause first certified in Chancery, deliver one of their own servants arrested: It is not likely any warrant can be found in Law to inforce the King to reparation, though he himself should have broken it; but to petition the King for an allowance of that, or

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any other priviledge, as well in the middle, as any other time of their sitting in Parliament, as they alwayes doe at the presenting of their Speaker in the beginning of it. Wherefore, certainly the people never gave the Parliament Commission (if they could have given a Commission to make a War against their Soveraign) to claim that was never due to them, or to fight for that was never yet fought for by any of their Fore-fathers, nor ever understood to be taken from them, much less for their ayrie innovated *pretences* rather than *priviledges*, which have since eaten up all the peoples Lawes and Liberties, as well as a good part of their lives and estates with it, and are now become to be every thing their Representatives will and and arbitrary power have a mind to make it; who have so driven away their old legal priviledges by setting up illegal and fantastick kind of *Priviledges* (as they are pleased to call them) instead of them, as there is nothing left of the *Parliament* like a *Parliament*, neither matter, nor form, nor any thing at all remaining of it; For, the upper and lower Houses have driven away and fought against the King, who was their *Head:* the the lower after that, have driven away the *upper*, and 45. of the House of Commons (whereof eleven are great Officers and Commanders of the Army) have after that imprisoned and driven away four hundred of their fellow-members: And from degene-

rate and diſtemperate piece of a Parliament, brought themſelves to be but a repreſentative, or *journey-men-voters* to a Councel of their own mercenary and mechanick Army; and may ſit another eight yeares before ever they ſhall be able to find a reaſon to ſatisfie any man that is not a *fool* or a *mad man*, or a *fellow-ſharer* in the ſpoiles of an abuſed and deluded *Nation*, Why the Kings demanding of the *five Members* and *Kimbolton* by undeniable warrant of the Land and the Records, and precedents of their own houſes upon a charge, or accuſation of Treaſon, for endeavouring amongſt other pieces of Treaſon, to alter the Government, and ſubvert the fundamental Lawes of the Kingdome, which the Parliament, and they *themſelves* that were *accuſed*, have more than once declared to be Treaſon; ſhould be taken to be ſo great a breach of priviledge in the King their Soveraign, when the forcing and over awing the Houſes of Parliament by the Army, their ſervants and hirelings, demanding the eleven Members, and impriſoning and baniſhing ſome of them, upon imaginary and fantaſtical offences committed againſt themſelves, or they could not tell whom; ſhall be reckoned to be no breach at all of priviledge, and the forcing of the Houſes by the ſame Army within a year afterwards, by ſetting guards upon them, violently pulling two of the Members of the Houſe of Commons out of the Houſe, and impriſon-

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ing them, and 39 more of their fellow-members all night in an Alehouſe, and leading them afterwards to ſeveral priſons, with guards ſet upon them, as if they had been common malefactors, can be called *mercies* and *deliverances*, and a purging and taking away rotten Members out of the Houſe of Commons.

But now that we can find nothing to make a defenſive or lawful, nor ſo much as a neceſſary War on the Parliaments part: for (*cauſa belli*, ſaith *Beſoldus*, *correſpondere debet damno & periculo*) the Parliament feares and jealouſies were not of weight enough to put the people into a miſery far beyond the utmoſt of what their feares and jealouſies to them did amount unto, we ſhall do well to examine by the rules and laws of War and Nations, the ways and means they uſed in it.

Beſoldus diſſert. pol. log. pa 88.

Injuſtum cenſetur bellum ſi non ejus, penes quem eſt Majeſtas, authoritate moveatur; a war cannot be juſt if it be not made by a lawful authority: Armorum delatio & prohibitio ad Principem ſpectat: It belongs to the Prince to raiſe or forbid Arms; and the Records of the Parliament (which we take to be a better ſenſe of the Houſe then their own purpoſes) can inform them, that the *Prelates. Earls, Barons*, and *Commonalty* of the Realm did in the ſeventh year of the reign of King *Edw.* the Firſt, declare to the King, *That it belongeth, and his part is, through His Royal Signorie ſtreightly to defend force of Armour, and*

Can. quid culpatur 23.

Da. D. Bocer de bello cap. 5. *Beſoldus de juribus Majeſtatis cap.* 6. 7 *Edw.* 1.

of Armour, and all other force againſt his Peace when it ſhall pleaſe him, and to puniſh them which ſhall do the contrary, according to the Laws and uſages of the Realm, and that thereunto they were bound to aid their Soveraign Lord the King, at all ſeaſons when need ſhall be.

How much ado then will they have to make a War againſt their Soveraign to bee Lawfull? or (if by any Warrant of Laws, Divine or Humane, they could but tell how to abſolve themſelvs from their oaths of *Supremacy*, *Allegiance*, and their very many proteſtations and acknowledgements of Subjection to the King) find a Supream authority to be in the People, *at the ſame time* they not only ſtiled themſelves, but all thoſe they repreſented to be his Subjects.

Or, how will they bee able to produce a warrant from the People, their now pretended Soveraigns (till they ſhall be able ſufficiently to enſlave them) to *authorize them to make a War to undo them*, when they elected them but to conſent to ſuch things as ſhould be treated of by the King and his Kingdom? Or how could a tenth part of the people give warrant to them to fight againſt the King, and the other nine parts of the people? Or can that bee a good warrant when ſome of them were cheated, and the other by plunderings and ſequeſtrations forced to yield to it? Or could the pretence of a War for defence of the Kings perſon, and to maintain the

the *Religion, Laws, and Liberties of the people*, be a warrant to the Parliament (which never ſought any for the King and People, but to take away the Soveraignty from the one, and the Liberties of the other) to do every thing was contrary unto it? But if that could have legitimated their actions? as it never did or will be able.

There is a two fold rule of Juſtice in the practiſe of War and Nations, *ſi bellum geratur ſine denuncaitione in captivos tanquam latrones animadverti poſſit*; *It is a thievery, rather than a War not denounce or give notice of it beforehand*: and in that alſo the Parliament was faulty, for they took *Hull* and *Portſmouth* and the Kings Navy and Magazine from him when hee hoped better things of them, and ſent out their Armies and the *Earl of Eſſex* againſt him whilſt he was in treaty with them, and offered all that he could to have a peace with them.

Bellum item impium injuſtumque ſit ſi modus debitus non obſervetur; *A War is unjuſt if there be not a due way of proceedings held in it*, which eſpecially conſiſteth in not hurting the innocent women and Children, and in this alſo they will fall ſhort of an excuſe. For how full is every Town and Village of the Truth as well as the complaints of the unchriſtian uſage of old and ſick people, Women and Children, beaten, wounded, or killed upon no provocation, Women and Maids raviſhed, and their fingers cut off for their rings,

Old

Old *Best* of *Canterbury* hanged up by the privities, others tortured, and had burning matches tyed to their fingers to make them confess where their mony was, Women and Children, sick and aged Persons starved for want of the sustenance they had taken from them; Husbandmen had their corn and hay spoiled in the field, and the barn, their sheep, cattle, and provisions devoured, houses ruined or burnt, & their horses that should help to plough and do other works of Husbandry taken away, in so much as some were inforced to blind and put out their horses eyes, that they might not be taken from them; Churches that escaped defacing, prophaned, and made Stables, or Goals, or Victualling, or Bawdy houses, Monuments defaced, and Sepulchers opened, as were those of the *Saxon* Kings at *Winchester*, and the priests and Ministers not so much as suffered to weep betwixt the Porch and the Altar, but their benefices and livelyhood taken from them by Wolves put in the Shepherds places; had their Books burned, and all their means and maintenance plundred from them; and those that were neutralls, and medled on neither side but lived as quietly as they could, either totally undone, or cast in prison, not for that they did them no hurt, but because they might do it, and if they were not imprisoned their Lands, money, or goods were sure to be in the fault and taken away from them.

Reso'dus Ibid. 95. *Ut bellum illæsa conscientia geratur, necesse est*

est ut adsit intentio bona; there ought to bee a good intention to make the War conscionable; which in this appears to fail also. For the Charge against the five members is now as true as it was then, they meant to ruine the King, and they have done it, and to alter the Government, and subvert the Religion, Laws, and Liberties, and they have done a great part of it, and as fast as they can are pulling down the remainder.

Quærere debemus victoriam rationibus honestis, ne salutem quidem turpibus; We ought to pursue victory and the just ends of War by honest and lawfull means, and not to do foul and dishoneſt things to procure our safety; from the latter of which, the mad fears and jealousies which the Parliament made use to usher in their pretences, their fayning of Victories and scandaling the King and his actions, not to insist upon their buying the Kings servants and secrets, Battells, Towns, and Garrisons and making too many *Judases* of all that were about him, will hardly be able to free them; or if they could, the making use of men and money intended for the support of *Ireland*, and leaving them wallowing in their blood for seven years together, whilst they were ruining their King that would have helped them, violating of their oaths of allegiance and Supremacy, which many of their Members had taken six or seven times over breaking their oaths, taken in their protestation and Nationall Covenant, and not so few

Du. picart observat. decad 10. colle 2. & Facius axiom bell 10.

few as one hundred ſolemne promiſes, and undertakings in their ſeverall Petitions, Remonſtrances, and Declarations; forcing the People to take the Proteſtation and Covenant, and compell them as ſoon as they had taken it, to break them, and by cozening and forcing them into Rebellions and perjuries, cheat them out of their Religion, Loyalty, Laws and Liberties: will without very good advocates be ſure enough to condemn them: and if the great Turk carrying the Covenant which *Ladiſlaus* the unfortunate King of *Hungary* was perſwaded to break with him as an enſign of publick deteſtation in the battell wherein he ſlew him; invoked the God of the Chriſtians to help him to revenge ſo great a treachery; there will be more reaſon now for all that are but Chriſtians, or but pretend to any morality, to carry in their banner, the Pourtract of the Kings bleeding Head, as it was cut from his ſhoulders, and make War in revenge of the Maſter-piece, and *totum aggregatum*, of all manner of wickedneſs and perfidiouſneſs, who beſides all their own and the Peoples oaths taken to defend him, when thoſe they called Deliquents (ſome few onely which were ſpecially named and excepted) for obeying the known Laws of the Land as well as their oaths and conſciences, were never queſtioned for their lives; but ſuffered to compound for their Eſtates; would not ſuffer the King, that was neither a Delinquent or excepted Perſon, to

enjoy

enjoy either his Life or Eſtate, though to ſave his people and keep them from killing one another, he yielded himſelf became a Priſoner upon the publick faith of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*.

Paxæqua non eſt recuſanda Licet victoriæ ſpes adſit (ſaith *Beſoldus*) *A good or fitting Peace is not to be refuſed though the victory were certain*: And in this alſo the Parliament will be as far to ſeek for a juſtification as in the other: For inſtead of offering any thing which was likely to bring it, they cauſed men and women in the firſt year of their Warre to be killed becauſe they did but petition them to accept of a peace; and in the third and fourth year of their War plundered and robbed others that petitioned them but to hearken to it, and put out of office, and made all as Delinquents in the ſeventh year of the Warre that did but petition them for a Treaty with the King, and refuſed all the Kings many, very many Meſſages for peace, not onely when he was at the higheſt of his ſucceſſe in the War, but when he was at the loweſt, and a Priſoner to them, and conjured them as they would anſwer at the dreadfull day of Judgement to pitty the bleeding conditions of his Kingdomes and People, and ſend propoſitions of Peace unto him, quarters and half years, and more then a whole year together after the battell of *Naſeby* (inſomuch as their fellow Rebells the *Scotch* Commiſſioners did heavily complain of it) were at ſeverall

verall times trifled away and ſpent before any propoſitions could be made ready, though thoſe which they ſent to *Oxford*, *Uxbridge*, *New-caſtle* and *Hampton Court*, were but ſubſtantially and materially the ſame with their nineteen Propoſitions which they made unto the King before the Earl of *Eſſex* was made their General, and in all the Treaties, made Propoſitions for themſelves and the Soveraignty and great offices and places of the Kingdome, but would neither for Gods ſake, or their Kings ſake, or their Oaths or Conſcientes ſak, or the Peoples ſake, or Peace ſake, which the *People* petitioned and hungred and thirſted for, alter or abate one *Jota* or tittle of them, but were ſo unwilling to have any peace at all, as ſix or ſeven Meſſengers or Trumpeters could come from the King, before they could be at leiſure or ſo mannerly as to anſwer one of them, but this or that Meſſage from the King was received and read, and laid by till a week or when they would after: and the Kings Commiſſioners in the Treaties muſt forget their due titles of Earles, Lords or Knights, becauſe the King had made them ſo ſince the beginning of the War, or elſe muſt be neither Treaty nor Peace there.

At *Uxbridge* the time of the Treaty limited for 20. days; and at *New-Caſtle* for 10. and though the King and his Commiſſioners at *Uxbridge* almoſt petioned for a ceſſation in the interim of that which was at *Oxford*, it could

could not be granted, nor have a few dayes added to it; and if the King could in honor and conscience have granted all the other parts of the Propositions, must grant them an act, not only to confiscate the Estates of his Friends and those that took up armes to save his Life and Estate, but to take away their Lives also, and not only that, but to condemn of high Treason, & attaint their blood, when they that fought against them were only guilty of, a thing so unfitting and unusually stood upon, as it was never asked in any treaty or pacification among the civilized or mor barbarous heathen, and amounts to more then *Adonibezeks* causing the thumbs and great toes of his captive Kings to be cut off, and making them to gather the Crumbs from under his table, or *Benhadads* demand of *Ahabs silver* and *gold*, his *wives and Children*, and whatsoever was pleasant in his eyes, which the Elders and people of *Israel* perswaded *Ahab* not to consent unto, but was a thing purposely contrived and stood upon to hinder a peace; was not to be asked or granted by any that could but intitle themselves to the least part of reason or humanity; a demand *Bajazet* would not leave his Iron-Cage to yield unto; a thing nature it selfe would abhor, and the worst of Villains and Reprobates rather loose their lives then yield to: would never be demanded by any nor granted by any but his Equalls.

And if their desiring of a War more then a

peace

peace, and to keep the King out of his own had not been the onely cause of such unnaturall and barbarous propositions it may well be wondred, why they that have made to themselves (for we cannot believe they have found any law or warrant to ground it upon) a power to take away the Kings life upon a colour or pretence of an *unread*, as well as *unheard* of piece of Justice; should need to strive so hard with the King, to give them a power to do that they are now so busie to do of themselves: and as if they had been afraid all this would not be enough to keep the doors of *Janus*, or the Devill open, for fear lest the King should trouble them with any more offers or Messages of Peace: a vote must be made in *February* 1647. that it should be treason in any man to bring or receive any more Messages from him without consent of Parliament. But suppose (that which is not) that the Parliament could have but found any thing but somewhat like a cause or justification of a War against their Soveraign (for notwithstanding all their hypocriticall pretences, so as it was at first intended, and so it hath been proved to be ever since) to whom their Masters the People (we mean as to the house of Commons) had sent them to consult with, not to make a War against him: they might have remembred that saying of *Cicero*, (if they had found nothing in the Book of God, and their own Consciences to perswade them to it) That *duo sunt genera decer-*

decertandi, unum per disceptationem, alterum per vim, & ad hoc confugiendum non est si uti superiori licebit: *There are other wayes to come by pretended rights, than by a War, and we ought never to make use of a War (which is the worst of all remedies) if we may obtain it by a better.* *Hen.* 2. King of *England* was made a Judge between the Kings of *Castile* and *Navarre*, The Rebellious Barons of *England* in the Reign of King *Hen.* 3. referred their controversies to the decision of the King of *France* and his Parliament at *Paris*: And the blood of this Kingdome which ran so plentifully in those unhappy differences, was by that meanes onely stopped. *Charles* the 4. Emperor was made a Judge of the differences betwixt the *English* and the *French Kings:* For as *Albericus Gentilis* saith well; *Intelligendum & eos qui diffugiunt genus hoc decertandi per disceptationem, & ad alterum quod est per vim currunt, illico eos a justitia, ab humanitate, a probis exemplis refugere, & ruere in arma volentes qui subire judicium nullius velint:* They that rush into a War without assaying all other just meanes of deciding the controversie for which it is made, and will judge onely according to their own will and opinion, doe turn their backs to Justice, Humanity, and all good Examples. And in that also the Parliament will be found faulty: For the *French* King and the *Estates* of the united *Provinces*, did by more than one Request and Embassy severally and earnestly

Cic. 1. *de offic.*

Jov. lib. 1.

Polidor. 13. 20.

Albericus Gentilis cap. 3.

mediate to make an accord betwixt the King and his Parliament, and desired to have all things in difference left to their Arbitrement; but their *Ambassadors* returned home again with a report how much they found the King inclined to it, and how satisfactorily he had offered; and how much the Parliament was averse to their interposition; and altogether refused it.

But we have tarried long enough among the Parliament party, from thence therefore (for it is time to leave the company of so much wickedness) we shall remove to the Kings party (and yet that may cause a *Sequestration*) and examine for a fuller satisfaction of that which by the rule of contraries is clear enough already, if he were not on the defensive and more justifiable part of the business.

The King as he was *Defensor & Protector subditorum suorum*, and sworn to see the Law executed; had not the Sword nor his Authority committed to him in vain: And if he had had no manner of just cause of fear, either in his own Person or Authority, or no cause given him *in re læsæ Majestatis*, the imprisoning of his Subjects, and plundering and taking away their estates from them, long before he had either armed himself, or had wherewithal to doe it, had been cause as sufficient as to cause a *Hue and Cry* to be made after a Felon, or raise the *posse Comitatus* to bring him to Justice; and might by the

the ſame reaſon doe it in the caſe of more: and by the ſame reaſon he might do it by the help of one, nothing can hinder but by the ſame reaſon he might doe it by the help of more.

When *Nathan* came to *David* with a parable, and told him of the rich man that had taken the poor mans only *ſheep*, he that underſtood vel enough the duty of a King, was exceeding wroth againſt the man, and ſaid, *As ſure as the Lord liveth this man ſhall ſurely die.* And can any man think that the King when he ſaw ſo much Sedition and Treaſon among the people countenanced & cheriſhed, tumults grow up into outr ges, outrages to parties and warlike aſſemblies, propoſitions made to bring in Horſe and Money to maintain an Army againſt Him, and many of his Subjects daily imprioned, ſequeſtred, undone or killed, can be blamed if he had a great deal ſooner gone about to defend both himſelf and his people? For who (ſaith St. *Jerom*) did ever reſt quietly ſleeping neer a viper? *Eſt lex una & perpetua ſalutem omni ratione defendere & hæc ratio doctis, neceſſitas Barbaris, moribus, feris natura ipſa præſcripſit, & hæc non ſcripta ſed nata lex*, ſaith *Tully* (that great maſter of morality) *Reaſon, Neceſſity, Cuſtom, and Nature it ſelf, have made ſelf-preſervation to be warrantable.* *Jerom. Ep. 47.* *Cicero pro Milone.*

Nemo exponere ſe debet periculis ſed obviam offenſioni eundum, non modo quæ eſt in actu, ſed quæ eſt in potentia ad actum, & juſtus me-

tus justum facit bellum, say the Civil Lawes; and whereas there was not *nuda cogitatio*, or a bare intention onely to ruine the King, but so much over and over again acted, as might well occasion more than a fear and apprehension in him of what hath since been brought to pass against him; no man certainly without much blindness or partiality can think it to be a fault in him to seek to defend himself, when the Parliament did not only long before he raised any forces to defend himself, but at the same time when he was doing of it, make the people believe his *Person* was in so much danger, as they must needs take up Arms to defend Him.

And how much more warrantable then must it be in the Kings case; when it was not only an endeavour to defend himself, but all those that have been since slain, and undone, and ruined, for want of power enough to do it?

Defence is by the Civil Lawyers said to be either necessary, profitable, or honest: *Nec distingui vult Baldus sive se, sua, suosve defendat, sive prope, sive posita longè*; *A man is said to defend himself when it is but his own goods, estate, or people, whether neer or further off*; *Necessaria defensio ejus est, & factum ad necessariam defensionem contra quem veniat armatus inimicus, & ejus contra quem inimicus se paravit*; It must needs be a necessary defence against whom an armed Enemy is either marching or preparing.

Baldus 3. *consid.* 485 & *consid.* 3

Utilis

Utilis defensio, quum nos movemus bellum verentes ne ipsi bello petamur; *when we make a war to prevent or be before-hand, when war or mischief is threatned or likely to come upon us*; for as *Nicephorus* the Historian saith, He that will live out of danger, must *occurrere malis impendentibus, & atneverteri, necest cunctandum aut expectandum, &c.* meet and take away growing evils, and turn them another way, and not to delay, and be slack in it.

Honesta defensio quæ citra metum ullum periculi nostri, nulla utilitate quæsita, tantum in gratiam aliorum suscipitur: When for no fear of danger to our selves, and for no consideration of profit to our selves, but meerly in favour or help of others the war is undertaken. Wherefore certainly when the King may be justly said to carry too long before he made the second and third kinds of defences, either to prevent the danger and fury of a War against himself, or to help those that *suffered* and were *undone* in seeking to defend himself, and was so overmuch in love with *Peace*, as he utterly lost it, and could never again recover it; and was so much mistaken in the love and religion of his Subjects and *Parliament promises*, and the *impossibilities* of such horrid proceedings against him, as all his three Kingdomes were in a flame of War, and strong Combinations made by two of them, and the Pulpit every where flaming, Seditious exhortations against him, his Navy, Magazines, Ports, Revenues, Mint, strongest Towns and places

Alberic. Genti. lib. 1. Dis. 25.

ſeized on, Armies marching againſt him, and he onely and a few friends and followers pend up in a corner, had an enemy and a ſtrong Town at his back ready every day to ſurprize him, and ſeveral Armies marching and in action before and round about him, before he granted out any Commiſſion for War, or had or could make any preparation for it; and had ſo many to help and defend beſides himſelf, it would be too much injury, and too great a violence to all manner of reaſon and underſtanding, to deny him a Juſtification upon the firſt ſort of defences, if the two latter will not reach it, for the firſt cannot by any interpretation goe without. For *hæc eſt neceſſitas* (ſaith *Baldus*) *quæ bellum juſtificat quum in extremo loco ad bellum confugitur.* Or if with *Grotius* we look upon it another way, and make the Juſtice of War to conſiſt, 1. *in defenſione.* 2. *in recuperatione rerum.* 3. *in punitione.* The King, before ever he went to demand *Hull*, or before ever he deſired a guard of the County of *York*, had cauſe enough and enough to doe it; and it would be hard if a great deal leſs then that ſhould not be able to deliver him from the cenſure or blame of an offenſive or unneceſſary War. When that which was made by *David* upon the children of *Ammon*, and that of the late glorious King of *Sweden* againſt the Emperour of *Germany*; the former for miſuſing, the latter for encroaching upon him, and not receiving

Bald. 5. Conſ. Pa. 439.

ceiving his Ambaſſadors, found warrant and neceſſity enough to doe it. But what could the King doe more in his endeavours and waiting for a Peace, or leſs in his preparations or making of a War? when the leaſt, or one of the *hundred* provocations or cauſes we dare ſay plainly here ſet down in the matter of fact, hath hitherto among the wiſeſt Princes and Commonwealths in the World, been reputed a juſt and warrantable cauſe of War.

Homicide by the Lawes of *England* ſhall be excuſed with a *ſe defendendo*, when the aſſaulted hath but ſimply defended himſelf, or retired in his own defence ſo far till by ſome water or wall he be hindred from going any further. Death and deſtruction marching towards the King, *Hull* fortified and kept behind him, and all manner of neceſſitie compaſſing him in on every ſide, could then doe no leſs then rouze him up to make his own defence; and he muſt be as much without his ſenſes, as care of his own preſervation, if he ſhould not then think it to be high time to make ready to defend himſelf, and neceſſity enough to excuſe him for any thing ſhould be done in order to it.

The Parliament and He (as this caſe ſtood) could not be both at one and the ſame time in the defenſive part; For they had all the Money, Arms, Ammunition, and ſtrength of the Kingdom in their hands, and multitudes of deluded people to aſſiſt them; and ſo

hunted and purſued from place to place, as it was come to be a ſaying and a by-word among the apprentices and new levied men at *London* they *would goe a King-catching*: and were not likely therefore to be guilty of ſo much patience as the King, who was ſo much in love with peace, and ſo thirſted after it, as that, and his often ſending Meſſages and Propoſitions for it, would not ſuffer him to make uſe of any victories or advantages God had given him. Twice did he ſuffer the Earl of *Eſſex* to attempt to force him from *Oxford*, and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* once to beleager him, when he had Power enough to have made *London* or the aſſociate Counties the Seat of the War, and it would be ſomething ſtrange that he, who when he had raiſed forces againſt his *Scottiſh* Rebels, and found himſelf in the Head of ſo gallant an Army, as he had much adoe to keep them from fighting, and his enemies ſo ridiculouſly weak, as he might have ſubdued them; but with looking upon them but a fortnight longer, could not be perſwaded to draw a Sword againſt them, would now begin an offenſive warre without any power or ſtrength at all againſt thoſe that had before-hand ingroſſed it: or what policy or wiſedome could it be in him to begin a War without Money, or Men, or Armes to goe through with it? or to refuſe the aſſiſtance of his *Catholique* Subjects, and *Forrain* Friends and Forces? or to ſpend ſo much time

time in Meſſages and offers of Peace, to give them time and ability to diſarm him, and arm themſelves, if he had not utterly abhorred a War, and as cordially affected peace? as he offered fair enough for it: Or if we could but tell how to ſay that the King did begin the War? (when what he did was but to preſerve his Regality, and the *Militia* and *Protection* of his people, which the Parliament in expreſs terms, as well as by *Petitioning* for it, acknowledged it to be his *Own*; being but that which every private man that had but money or friends, would not neglect to do.)

Did he any more in ſeeking to preſerve his Regality, then to defend and keep himſelf from a breach of truſt they fought to make him break? Or did he any more then ſeek to defend himſelf againſt thoſe did all they could to force him to break it? or could there be a greater perjury, or breach of truſt in the Kingly office, than to put the Sword which God had given him, into the hands of *mad-men*, or *fools*, or ſuch as would kill and ſlay and undo their fellow-ſubjects with it? or to deliver up the protection of his people into the hands of a few of their ambitious fellow-ſubjects, did as much break their own truſt to thoſe they repreſented in asking of it, as the King would have done if he had granted it? or why ſhall it not be accounted an *inculpata tutela* in the King to preſerve and defend that by a War, the Laws of,

of God and Man, his *Coronation-Oath*, *Honour*, and *Conscience*, and a duty to Himself and his Posterity, as well as to his people, would not permit him to stand still, and suffer to be taken away from him.

But if the King by any manner of construction could be blamed or censured for denying to grant the *Militia*, which was the first pretence of beginning of the War, by those that sought to take it from him (for till the besieging of *Hull* the 16. of *July* 1642. after many other affronts & attempts of as high a nature put upon him, the most malicious interpretation of the matter of Fact, cannot find him so much as at all to have defended himself, as to have done any one act of War (or so much as like it) who shall be in the fault for all that was done after, when he offered to condiscend to all that might be profitable for his people in the matter of Religion, Lawes, and Liberties? Or was it not a just cause of War to defend himself and his people against those would notwithstanding all he could doe and offer, make a War against him, because he would not contrary to his Oath, *Magna Charta* and so many other Laws he had sworn to *observe*, betray, or deliver up his people into their hands to be governed, or rather undone by a greater latitude of Arbitrary power then the great *Turk* or *Crim Tartar* ever exercised upon their enslaved people, and put the education and marriage of his own *Children*

out

out of his power, was never sought to be taken out of the hand of any Father who was not a *fool* or a *mad-man*, nor yielded to by any who would have the credit to be accounted their wise; or because he would not denude himself of the power of conferring honours, or vilifie or discredit his great and lesser Seals, and the Authority of them, from which many mens Estates and Honours, and the whole current of the *justice* of the Kingdome had their original, and refused to perjure himself by abolishing *Episcopacy*, which *Magna Charta*, and some *dozens* of other laws bound him to preserve? Or if that be not enough to justifie him in his own defence, had he not cause enough to deny, and they little enough to ask Liberty of Conscience, and practice to *Anabaptists*, *Blasphemers* of God, deniers of the *Trinity*, *Scriptures*, and *Deity* of Christ, when the Parliament themselves had taken a Covenant to root them out, and made as many of the people as they could force, to take it with them? or had he not cause enough to deny to set up the *Presbyterian* Authority, would not even have taken away his own Authority, but have done the like also with the Lawes and Liberties of the Nation, and the ruling part of that they now call the Parliament utterly abhor; or if all that could not make the War be made to be defensive and lawful? had he not cause enough to deny, and they none at all to ask that he should by Act of Parliament consent

to

to make all those to be Traytors that took his part, their Blood and Posterities attainted, and their Estates forfeited? when as some of the Parliaments own Members were heard to say when those Propositions were sent to him; That if he yeelded unto them, *He was the unworthiest man living, and not fit to be a King.*

For certainly, if the Laws of God and man, and the understanding of all mankind be not *changed*, there was never a juster, more *defensive*, unwilling, and *necessitated* Warre, than that of the Kings part, since man came out of *Paradise*. And if such a War should not be lawfull (after so many provocations and necessities for the defence of himself and his People, and so many after-generations, this War of the Parliament, and the curse of it, is like to ruine and leave in slavery) under what censure and opinion may that of
Gen. 14. *Abraham* with *Chederlaomer* the King of *Elam*, and *Tidal* King of the Nations be, when he fought with them to rescue his brother *Lot*, and his goods, and was blessed by *Melchisedec* the Priest of the most high God, for
Judg. 20. doing of it. Or of the War which the Tribes of *Israel* made against the Tribe of *Benjamin*, and the men of *Gibeah*, for committing lewd-
1 *Sam.* 30. nesse and folly in *Israel*: that of *David* to rescue his Wives that were carried away cap-
2 *Sam.* 6. tive by the *Amalekites*, or to fetch home the Ark of God from the *Philistines*; that which
1 *Reg.* 20. *Ahab* made with *Benhadad* the King of *Syria*, who

who was not half ſo tyrannical in his Propoſitions as the Parliament, were approved of in Sacred Story; or that which was made by *Judas Machabeus* and his Brethren, to reſcue the decayed eſtate of the people of the *Jews*; or that which was uſed to be made by the heathen *pro aris & focis*, were never yet ſo much as ſuſpected to be unlawfull: How ſhall this of the Kings be condemned, that had as much as *Abraham*, *David*, *Ahab*, againſt *Benhadad*, *Judas Machabeus*, and the tribes of *Iſrael*, or thoſe heathens that made it *pro aris & focis*, put them altogether to warrant it? Or by what reaſon or Law, is any man by the Laws of *England* excuſed for killing a man in his own defence, when he is neceſſitated or hindred by a Wall or a Water, that he can go no farther? or for killing thieves that come to aſſault or rob him in his houſe or caſtle? If the King ſhall be hunted from his houſe through all the parts and corners of his Kingdom for his *Life*; and not onely for his *Life*, but his *Honour*; and not onely for his *Life* and *Honour*, but his *Conſcience*? and yet muſt never draw his Sword, or ſeek to defend himſelf, or have any body elſe to do it for him? Or how have all the *Kings*, *Princes*, and *Magiſtrates* of the world hitherto governed, and defended themſelves, and their people? or ſhall ever be able to give an account of the people committed to their charge, if they may not be at liberty to make a legal uſe of the ſword, power, and reaſon

1 *Macc.* 3. *v.*43.

God

God hath given them? Or how can those State-riddles (like those of *Sphinx*, only made to destroy men withall) that they fought for the King and Parliament, as is alledged in many of their Orders and Declarations? and that the War was a Rebellion raised against the King and Parliament; as is expressed in the Ordinance of Parliament for association of the Counties of *Pembroke*, *Cardigan*, and *Carmarthen*; be ever understood by any rule of sence or reason; if he were on the offensive part of the War, and had begun it against them? But if any shall be so in love with the sense of the House of Commons, as to be out of their owne senses, and thinke that though there be no manner of evidence or proof to be had for love or money, that the Parliament were constrained to defend themselves by a War: yet the Kings admitting of the Preamble of the Parliaments Propositions presented to him at the Isle of *Wight*, that the Parliament was necessitated to take up Arms in their just and lawfull defence; makes him (who must needs be best acquainted with his own actions) to be so clearly guilty of all the blood hath been shed in these Wars, as it puts to silence all that can be now alledged or said in his behalf.

8 *June*, 1644.

They that made the *Preamble*, and placed it in *limine* and *threshold* of the Treaty, on purpose to catch and insnare him (for either he must have denied it at the very beginning and entrance into the Treaty, and leave him

King-

Kingdomes and People to wallow in the blood and misery their Parliament *Idols* had brought them to; and have all the blame laid upon him for hindring a Peace he had so much longed and laboured for; or put himself, and all his Loyal Subjects that helped to defend him, under the burden of those *Sins* and *Shames* the Parliament themselves had all the right to) can tell their undone and deluded *Proselytes*, how much the King stuck at it, how unwilling he was to break off the Treaty, and was unwilling to wrong his own Innocency; and that when the Parliament Commissioners had not any thing either in Law, or *Truth*, or Reason, or *Argument*, to perswade him to yield unto it, but laid it onely as a case of necessity before him (though there was no such preamble at the Treaties of *Oxford* and *Uxbridge*, nor any such necessity at those times insisted upon) that unlesse he *would take the guilt upon himself, his too Houses of Parliament and the people had engaged with them* must necessarily bee guilty of Treason and could not have any security from the guilt and punishment. The King bemoaning himself and People that must be thus shut out from any hopes of peace, intreated some expedient, or *medium* might be found out to reconcile the difference: But *Cains* sins being *greater* then could bee forgiven him, unless *Abel* can be brought to say he killed *Cain*; they that could afterward find an expedient for 21 of their great

Councill

Council of State that refused to subscribe to the lawfulnesse of murdering the King, after it was done, could finde none at all for the King to purchase a peace for the People (though many kinds of ways and expedients, as allowing him to make the like preamble to his own Proposition, or the like might have been easily contrived and thought upon. For the truth was, the *Independent* party desired no Peace at all, and the *Presbyterians* desired it onely to get into their hands the Kings Power and Authority, and lay the guilt of all the blood they had shed for it upon him; and both of them were so well content to have him allow of the preamble, as the *latter*, thought himself safe and out of controversie if the King took the blood upon him; and the *former*, that it would prove no small advantage or colour, to take away his Life for confessing himself guilty of it, by allowing of the preamble; in this unparallel'd demand, never before stood upon By Subjects to their *Prince*, or *Conquerours* to their *Captives*. *Nero* himself was so far short of it, as though he had cunning enough when he set *Rome* on fire, to lay the fault upon the *Christians*, had not Villany enough to torture and seek to draw them to a *confession*, that they did it.

The King after Protestation that he could not without manifest injury to the Truth, and a violation of his *Honour* and *Conscience*, take upon him a guilt, could no way be charged

ged upon him, or thoſe that appeared in his defence, was yet for peace ſake, and his peoples ſake, content to ſay; *It will be a great ſelf-denial to take this ſuppoſition of a guilt upon my ſelfe, and a Chriſtian vertue to undergoe any affliction that may be for the good of my People:* and *I am confident thoſe that have adventured ſo much for me, will be content to ſhare with me for ſo good a purpoſe in the ſuffering for it. I ſhall therefore conditionally conſent to the Preamble*; ſo as there follow a *concluſion* upon the *whole matter* in Treaty and *Propoſitions* betwixt us; otherwiſe it is but *ſub modo*, and *conditional*; as it is alwaies to be underſtood in this Treaty, that *nothing agreed in part* betwixt us, ſhall be binding, unleſs there be a concluſion upon the *whole*. And here let the Truth be judge, if the King did not abundantly endeavour to ſave his People, and if the Parliament had not need of a *juſtification*, when they uſed all manner of force and ſhifts, to have the King take the fault upon him: they therefore that ſhall conſider that the King was a cloſe priſoner, robbed and bereaved of all he had (but his Honour and *Conſcience*, and a great mea-

ſure of knowledge and underſtanding, and the hearts of his Loyal Subjects) was debarred of all friends and comforts, pent up and uſed with all manner of hardſhip and extremities, and every day like to be murdered, that conditions *adimpleri debent priuſquam ſequatur effectus*, are but inſerted or added, *in caſum incertum qui poteſt tendere ad eſſe, aut non eſſe*; and depend on *ſubſequencies* or following *effects*, which not hapning or coming to be performed according to the intent of the conditions, makes them to vaniſh and expire, as if there no ſuch matter at all had been acknowledged or expreſſed in them: That *Cooke*, his accuſer, who when he comes to be hanged for it, will never be able to prove that the People *ſubſtituted*, or gave him warrant for to accuſe him. And *Bradſhaw*, who ſate higher in the *pageant* of *Juſtice*, and the reſt of his fellow-murderers, took the Kings conditional conſenting to the Preamble, to be ſo little for their purpoſe, as they never ſo much as mentioned it: muſt not onely acquit him of any confeſſion or guilt to be inferred from his conditional yeelding to that *Ambuſcado* Preamble, but diſſolve into wonder

wonder and admiration, that he who in his Royal Meditations, and Conference with death, upon the Parliaments Votes of *non addreſs*, and his cloſer impriſonment at *Cariſbrook-Caſtle*, had clearneſs of Conſcience enough to ſay (for as for his judgement we hope it cannot be ſuſpected, when Mr. *Carill* the *Independent*, and Mr. *Vines* a *Presbyterian* Miniſter, could ſay he was a ſecond *Solomon*; and the Parliaments Commiſſioners at the Iſle of *Wight* report him to be the maſter of the greateſt wiſdome and underſtanding) That he had *the feaſt of a good Conſcience, and the brazen wall of a judicious integrity and Conſcience!* doubted not but his *Innocency would finde God to be his protector!* rejoyced in the comfort of *imitating Chriſts example in ſuffering for Righteouſneſs ſake!* and thanked God *he could pray for them, that God would not impute his Blood to them, further than to convince them what need they had of Chriſts Blood, to waſh their Souls* from the guilt of ſhedding His! And was afterwards in the face and view of Death and his Murderers, heard to ſay upon the Scaffold, *He never did begin a War with the two Houſes of Parliament,* Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, *Cap.* 28.

and called God to his witneſs (to whom he was ſhortly to make an account) he never intended to incroach upon their priviledges, but they began upon him; It was the *Militia* they *began upon*, though they *confeſt it was his*, and *that any that would looke into the date of their Commiſſions and his, might* clearly ſee *that they began theſe unhappy troubles*; and hoped *God would clear him of it!* Could be ſo much more than a man, and ſo great a protector of his People, as not onely to be content to be robbed and diſpoiled of all that he had for their ſakes, but to ſave the Lives and Eſtates of his People, when there was no other way to do it, deliver up himſelf (ſo as a Peace and Agreement might have followed upon the Treaty) to the unjuſt Cenſure of Robbing and Spoiling thoſe that had robbed and undone him.

But now that we have hunted this Parliament *Proteus* through all his diſguiſes of *Parliament* priviledges and pretences, and are lamentably aſſured a great and accurſed thing is committed in our *Iſrael*, and the *anger* of the Lord is *kindled* againſt us; it may be labour well beſtowed (though here is ſure enough

nough already ſaid and prov'd, that the King was in the defenſive and juſtifiable part of the War) to ſend into *Achan*'s tent, and ſearch and ſee what is there to be found concerning this matter; and here we finde the Lord *Say*, the Lord *Brooke*, and their complices, had not long before the King had ſummoned them to that which is now called the Parliament, ſettled and conveyed their eſtates, to prevent any dangers might happen upon their intended enterpriſes; *Peard* the pragmatique Parliament-man was heard to ſay a little before this holy War began to break out, That *the Government of the Kingdom would within a year or two be altered.*

A little before the ſecond Scottiſh Invaſion, *Hinderſon* the Scotch *firebrand* confeſſes the Covenanters of both Kingdoms were unanimouſly agreed *to bring the King to their lure before they laid down Arms:* the joint Declaration of both Kingdoms in *January*, 1643. profeſſes they will *never lay down Armes till the* pretended *reformation be accompliſhed*; many Declarations and Remonſtrances of the Parliament (if they may be ſo called) and the Army, mention the

Hiſtory of the Marq; Montroſſe his actions in Scotland.

original power and Soveraignty to be in the people, the common *Rights* and *Freedome* of the Nation, and the *opportunities* God hath put into their hands. An Ordinance of Parliament 20 *October* 1645. concerning Rules and Directions for Triers and Judges of the ability of Elders, declare it was *the wonderfull providence of God in calling them* (which he never did by force of Arms, Hypocriſie, Treaſon, Rebellion, and uſurping of Regal Authority) *to the great and difficult work of reformation and purging the Church.* The Lord *Fairfax* and his General Council of Officers in their Remonſtrance of the 16 *November*, 1648. made to the Parliament, call the putting down of Monarchy, and the eſtabliſhing of their unjuſt ends, the *publick intereſt originally contended for on the Parliaments part*; and the Declaration and Votes of thoſe that call themſelves the Commons of *England* in Parliament aſſembled, 1 *January* 1648. affirm the bringing of Delinquents to puniſhment (which if they had been Delinquents, is certainly a part of the Kingly Office) the *main*, if not *the onely end of making this War.* And in another place thereof acknow-

knowledges the *rooting out of Epiſcopacy, and bringing Delinquents to puniſhment* to be *the onely motives that induced them to undertake this War.*

And though *Achan* will neither confeſs nor be brought to puniſhment, till the wrath and never-failing judgement of God ſhall bring them and their ſons and their daughters, and their *ſucceſſes*, and the *Aſſes* that follow them to be conſumed in the field of *Achor*: and the Fig-leaves which they have patched together to palliate and hide their nakedneſſe, cannot keep out the eyes and underſtanding of a ruined Nation bleeding under the burden of their iniquity; but whether ever confeſſed or never, will be as plain as the moſt infallible demonſtration; they were never neceſſitated to make a War, but were ſo far from the Juſtification of a defenſive War, as that they were altogether in the offenſive. For beſide all that hath been ſaid to prove them guilty of the blood and miſery of this Nation, who can think, or be believed (if he ſhould be ſo mad as to ſay it) That they were forced to make a War for that was none of their own, or to take away tenures in *Capite*,

which was a principal Flower of his Crown; or for a *Reformation* of *Religion*, was already the envie and ambition of the best of the Reformed Churches, or to commit Sacriledge and abolish Episcopacy, which at the least was of Apostolical institution; or to preserve the Statute of 25 *E.* 3. concerning what was Treason; when they themselves committed most of the Treasons were mentioned in it, and more than their forefathers and the makers of that Statute ever thought on. But that we may do all the right we can to them have done so much wrong, and the better carry on our judgements to a certain conclusion of that which God and all good and just men know to be true enough, it will not, we hope, be impertinent in this our search and disquisition of the truth to proceed to the enquiry.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Whether the Parliament, in their pretended Magiſtracy, have not taken leſſer occaſion to puniſh or provide againſt Inſurrections, Treaſons, *and* Rebellions, as *they are pleaſed to call them.*

ALl in the neighbourhood of their Proceedings, that know but any thing of them can tell it: The Parliament have not been wanting to their own preſervations and purpoſes in the exerciſe of the greateſt jealouſie, vigilancy, terror, and authority, over thoſe they could get within their juriſdiction: Witneſſe *Edward Archer*, who was whipt and puniſhed almoſt to death for ſpeaking but his ill wiſhes to the Earl of *Eſſex*, when he was marching out of *London* with their Army againſt the King: the impriſonment of their own Members, for ſpeaking againſt the *Senſe* and *Cabal* of the Houſe of Commons; men and women, old and young, ſhut up

up under Decks, ready to be ſtifled a ſhip-board, upon ſuſpition that they affected the King; hanging of the two *Briſtol* Merchants, Maſter *Bourchier* and Maſter *Yeomans*, for an endeavour to deliver ~~to deliver~~ up *Briſtol*, putting Colonel *Eſſex* out of the Government of that Town, upon ſuſpition of favouring the enterpriſe; hanging of Maſter *Tomkins* and Maſter *Chaloner*, for a purpoſe to force the delivery up of ſome factious men to Juſtice; baniſhing Maſter *Waller*, an eminent Member of the houſe of Commons, for the contrivance of it; ſearching the houſes of forraign Ambaſſadors, and intercepting and opening their Letters; beheading Sir *Alexander Cary* for an intention to deliver up *Plimouth*, and Sir *John Hotham* (who adventured firſt of all to ſet up their authority, and was magnified, and almoſt adored for it) for an intention only to deliver up *Hull* to the King; executing of his ſon, for joyning with his father in it; hanging Maſter *Kniveton*, one of the Kings Meſſengers, but for bringing his Majeſties Proclamation to *London* for the adjourning of the Term (being a greater miſ-uſage then *Davids* Meſſengers

gers received from King *Ammon*) imprisoning, starving, and undoing of any that durst but own the King, or send, or bring any Message from him or his party, or that did but give any aid or assistance to him, to which their Oaths and Consciences, and the *jugling* Covenant (they themselves took, and forced upon them) did oblige them; shooting and cannonading of the *Queen* when she came but to aid her husband, and chasing and shooting after her at Sea a year after, when she was going back into *France* from him; sequestring wives and mothers that did but relieve their husbands and childrens wants when they returned out of the Kings service, putting thousands of the Orthodox Ministers out of their Benefices and livelihoods for using the Common-Prayer-Book, preaching true Doctrine and obedience to the King, or praying for him at the same time when they pretended liberty of Conscience, and prescription of Religion, voting the Prince a Traitor, for wishing well or being in company with his Father (for he was too young to do any thing else for him) and making, or rather supposing charges

charges of High Treason against those that either fought for the King, or counselled him how to defend himself; for but obeying the known Lawes, they themselves made the world believe they made some part of the War for, ordering all to die without mercy that did but harbour the King when he fled in a disguise before their Armies, condemning men by a Court Martial after the War was ended, and shooting them to death but for words or intentions. And if this and many things more might be said of it, be not enough, what means so many *Sequestrations*, and the bleating and lowing of mens Sheep and Oxen taken away from them since the Warre was ended, but for words spoken either for the King or against them; husbands and fathers undone for what their wives or children did without their privity; the Mayor of *London* and divers Aldermen imprisoned but upon a suspicion of joyning with the *Scots*, or something in pursuance of the Covenant they forced them to take, or else would have undone them for refusing of it, Garrisons and Armies with free-quartering and Taxes kept up after the War was ended, and the

the people like ſheep devoured to maintain them; ſo much complaining in our ſtreets, and taking away the fifth part of many men in whole Counties, as *Eſſex*, *Kent*, &c. for joyning with ſome of the Kings Forces, or for being forced to ſend proviſions to them (when they took up Arms, ſome in purſuance of the Covenant, and others of them to deliver the *King* out of priſon) and cauſing the Souldiers not onely to cut and kill divers of the County of *Surrey* in the very act of Petitioning the Parliament for a Treaty of Peace with the King, and ſequeſter many of them for putting their hands to it, with diſabling the Citizens of *London* for bearing any office in the City or Commonwealth, for but putting their hands to the petition for the Treaty, though *Cromwel* himſelf had not long before ſet on ſom to petition for it; and the ruine & undoing of 2 parts of 3 in the Kingdome, very many of whom did nothing actually in the Wars, but were onely ſacrificed to their pretended reaſons and jealouſies of State, do ſufficiently proclame, and remain the woful Regiſters to after-generations of this lamentable aſſertion. If the King could have

have gotten but so much leave of his mercy, and a tenderheartednesse to his people, as to have used but the five-hundredth part of the Parliaments jealousies, and sharp and mercilesse authority in the managing of this Warre, so much of his Kingdomes and people had not been undone and ruined, nor the Parliament put to so much labour to coyn faults and scandals against him, nor to wrest the *Lawes* to *non-sense*, and the Scriptures to Blasphemy, to justifie their most horrid act of murthering him, but for seeking to preserve the *Lawes* and *Liberties* of his people, who are now clearly cheated out of them. And here our misery tells us we must leave them, and in the next place shall remember (for indeed it is so plain it needs no enquiry.)

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Who most desired Peace, and offered fairliest for it.

TH'bundant satisfaction the King had offered them from his first summoning of the late Parliament, to their dissolving of themselves, by dissolving him who gave them all their *Life* and *Being* : That which he *did*, and all which he would have *done*; so many Declarations, Answers and Messages penned by himself, intending as much as his words could signifie, and were believed and understood by all at that time, that were not interessed or engaged against him, and by many of the eagrest of them also, that had no hand, or look't to have any profit in the murthering of him (for a Trial of a King without either warrant or colour of *Scripture*, or the *Lawes* of the Kingdome, or the consent of the major part of the people (if that could have authorized

rized it, cannot, nay will not by all the world and after-ages be otherwiſe interpreted; unleſſe we ſhall ſay *Ravillac* might have juſtified his killing *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, if he had but had the wit to have framed or fancied a Supreme Court of Juſtice, and have Sentenced him before he had done it) will be as pillars and laſting Monuments of this Truth, The King was the onely deſirer of *Peace*, and laboured and *tugged* harder for it than ever Prince or King, Heathen or Chriſtian, ſince Almighty God did his firſt dayes work, did ever doe with Superiors, Equals or Subjects; and it will be no wrong certainly to *David* (whoſe ſufferings are ſo much remembred in all Chriſtian Churches) complaining ſo bitterly that he ſought peace with thoſe that refuſed it, and in the mean time prepared for War againſt him. To ſay the King did ſuffer more, and offer more, and oftner for peace than ever he did (for any thing is extant or appearing to us) for ſurely, ſo many Meſſages of Peace as one and twenty in two years ſpace, from the 5. of *December* 1645. to the 25. of *Decem.* 1647. ſent to the Parliament after ſo many

many affronts and diſcouragements, muſt needs excuſe him that offered all could be imagined to be for the good and ſafety of his people, and condemn thoſe, that not onely from time to time refuſed it, but adhered ſo much to their firſt intentions, as all the blood and ruine of the people could not perſwade them to depart with the leaſt *punctillio* of it; though the King before the Iſle of *Wight*-Treaty, offered ſo much for the Olive-branch, as to part with the Militia for term of his life, and in a manner to un-king himſelf, and was afterwards content to doe all that his Coronation-Oath, Honour and Conſcience, could poſſibly permit him to do; and to purchaſe a peace for his people, was content to have born the ſhame & reproach of what his enemies were onely guilty of; inſomuch as the Lord *Say* himſelf, and moſt of his ever-craving, never ſafe enough Diſciples, confeſſed the *King* had offered ſo much, as nothing more could be demanded of him. They therefore that can but tell how to divide or put a difference betwixt white and black, night and day, and the plaineſt contraries, muſt needs alſo acknowledge

the King offered all, and the Parliament refuſed all: The *King* was willing to part almoſt with every thing, and the Parliament would never part with any thing: The *King* was willing for the good of his people to give away almoſt every thing of his own, but the Parliament would never yield to part with any thing was not their own. And thus may the account be quickly caſt up between the *King* and *Parliament*, who would have ſaved the people from miſery, and who was moſt unwilling to make an end of it. But that we may not too haſtily give the ſentence to try the buſineſſe, as they uſe to do at the Councel of *War*, or the new invented way of *Juſtice*, ſitting with their Will, or the Sword onely in one hand, and no *Ballance* at all in the other. We ſhall in the next place examine.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Who laboured to ſhorten the War, and who to lengthen it.

THe odds was ſo great betwixt what the Parliament laboured to get, and the *King* to keepe, as that which ſways the balance in moſt mens actions, will be argument enough to conclude they were more likely to loſe by a peace than a war; therefore the more willing to continue it: and if their own intereſts would not put them ſo far upon it, their vain-glory and ambition would be forward enough to perſwade them to it; and if not that, the ſucceſs of their arms, or miſcalled providence, would make them look (as experience tells us they did) upon any tenders of peace, as *Alexander* the Great did upon *Darius* his offer of half his Kingdom: and if not that, their feares and jealouſies now grown greater by wronging of the King, than ever they were when they ſuſpected him, could never think it ſafe to

let an inraged *Lion* into his Denne they had so long kept out of it. But the King could not fight for his own, but he must adventure the undoing of his *own*; and could not but know, that so much as was lost of his Subjects, would be so much lost of a *King*; and therefore doth all he can to preserve a People, had no minde to preserve themselves; and before He had gathered up the Bayes He won at *Edge-hill*, sends a Proclamation of pardon to those, that the day before did all they could to kill him; and in all his actions of War afterward behaved himself rather like a weeping Father defending himself against the strokes and violence of disobedient children. Had the Parliament accepted of his offers before he came to *Beverley*, or besieged *Hull*, he had never set up his *Standard* at *Nottingham*; or had they loved his People but half so much as he did, their Armies had never seen his Banners displaid at *Edge-hill*. Had they hearkned to his many endeavours for Peace after that Battel, and not sought to surround or ruine him when he came so near as to their very doors to intreat for it, they had never been troubled to frame an

Accu-

Accuſation againſt him for defending himſelf at *Brainford*. Had his Treaty at *Oxford* been proceeded in with the ſame deſires of Peace he brought to it the blood that was ſhed at *Cverſham-bridge* had been kept for better purpoſes; had he ſought his own advantages, he had not beſieged *Gloceſter*; or had he not been ſo unwilling to put the People in it to the hazard of a ſtorm, might have taken it; had they not ſent their General to aſſault him at *Gloceſter*, whil'ſt he was as *David* beſieging the ſtrong Hold of the *Jebuſites*, that withheld it from his obedience, and ſought to ruine and undoe Him aſwell as his Loyal Subjects, he had not fought with them afterwards at *Newbery*; had not his Olive-branches been flung in the fire by thoſe He ſent them unto, he had not been put to defend himſelf at *Cropredy-bridge*. Had any thing been able to prevail with the Parliament to pitty their fellow-Subjects, he had not taken ſuch a tedious and dangerous march to relieve thoſe they would have ruined at *Bodmin* in *Cornwall*. Had the Treaty at *Uxbridge* taken effect, he needed not afterwards have adventured ſo much to defend himſelf

himself at *Newbery*. Had not the new-modell'd Army after so many tenders of Peace, refused by their masters, beene sent out to destroy him, he had not been put to the trouble of taking *Leicester* for his security. And had not he been surrounded and almost surprised by them, might have rẽserved himself to a better success and advantage than he had at *Naseby*. Had his voluntary resigning up of the remainder of his Armies and Garisons been able to perswade any thing with them, there had not been so much as a relique of War left in the Kingdom; or could so many Messages for Peace, and so many Petitions of the People for it, have made but any impression on the Parliament, so many divisions, parties, and insurrections, had not since broken the Harps of the Children of *Israel*, nor should the drummes have out-gone the voice of the *Turtle*. He that could not bring himself to the common actions of War to hang a Spie, insomuch as when one of them was hanged before he was told he was taken, he was intreating the Governour of *Oxford* to spare him. He that when he had *John Lilburne*, one of the most factious that were against him,

Wingate

Wingate and *Darley* Parliament-men, Colonel *Ludlow* an actor of that Treason his Father had not long before ſpoken againſt him, and Dr. *Baſtwick* one of the bellows and principal factors of this horrid Rebellion, did no more than impriſon ſome of them, and giving the reſt a legal Trial, ſhewed them what the law they made ſilly People believe they took up arms to maintain, would judge of them; and ſuffered them to be exchanged to do what they could afterwards againſt him: He that when he had taken 400 prentice-boys in the fight at *Brainford*, did but diſmiſs and pitty them; and when he had compelled the Earl of *Eſſex* the Parliament-General at *Leſtithiel* in *Cornwall* to flie away by Sea in a Cock-boat, and leave all the Artillery and Foot of his Army to his mercy, did no more but diſarm them, and take an oath of them never more to ſerve againſt him; and being then in the height of his proſperity, ſent a Meſſage and Offer of Peace to the Parliament, who were low enough at that time (if their deſigns would have given them leave) to have received it: He that could ſay he ſhould be more afraid to take *away*

any

any mans life unjuſtly than to loſe his own! was not likely to be guilty of blood-ſeeking, or the ſhedding of it: He that had experience enough how much his Life and Crown were ſought for, yet to ſhew them the way to peace, and to take off all pretences to hinder it, could ſheath his own Sword, and put himſelf into the hands of thoſe he had ſo little reaſon to truſt, as he knew them to be the great contrivers of the War againſt him; cauſed the Marqueſs of *Montroſſe*, one of his *mighty* men of War, to diſband, when he was maſter of a ſtrong and (not long before) fortunate Army in *Scotland*; commanded *Newark*, *Oxford*, *Wallingford* and *Worceſter*, very ſtrong and almoſt impregnable Towns and Garriſons in *England* to be delivered up, and all acts of hoſtility by Sea and Land, and all the preparations his friends could make either in foraign parts or at home to ceaſe: He that could endure five yeares Ballading, Libelling, and Preaching againſt him, and ſuch heaps of numberleſs affronts and injuries of all kinds done unto him, and two years impriſonment afterwards; yet ſo long as he enjoy'd but the liberty of Pen and Ink

Ink, or a Meſſenger to carry it, did ſo tire them with Meſſages and Offers of Peace, as they voted it to be Treaſon for any to bring any Meſſage from him, and notwithſtanding all that, made ſhift to throw a Meſſage or Declaration to his People, made up like a ball, out of the place of his cloſe Impriſonment at *Caris-brook*, was not like to deſire the lengthening that war he did all he could to avoid, and offered ſo much to make an end of; but on the contrary, if we take into our conſideration the more than *Gothiſh* unheard of inhumane cruelties, acted and done by the Parliament againſt their better *fellow-Subjects*, their Plunderings, Sequeſtrations, and racking of every mans eſtate they pleaſed to call Delinquents; ſeverities in all their actions, ſtanding upon every punctilio or word, or ſuperſcription of a Letter, and not abating a tittle of their demands, as if they had been the *Decalogue*, or ſome other place of Scripture (though rivolets of blood, hundred theuſands of ruined families, and thronged Hoſpitals of ſick and wounded men, *Widows* and *Fatherleſs* cried aloud to them for Peace) and their killing and murdering thoſe

that

that but petitioned for it; and a foundation laid of a new war may last as long as that of the *Netherlands* and *Germany*. There will be enough and enough again to insure us of this most clear and evident truth, the King did all he could, and more than any man else would have done to obtain Peace, and the Faction of Parliament all they could to avoid it; for certainly if there be any rules of Learning, *Truth* or Reason, left us to judge by, he must be sequestred of all his *brains* that can but endeavour to make a doubt whether the King did not more resemble the true mother of the Child in the case before *Solomon*, who did so *much*, and offered to part with so *much* to save the life of it, than the Parliament, that would have it more than *divided*, and to be cut and torn all to *bits* and *pieces*, and would do nothing at all to *save*, but every thing to *destroy* it. And now we have seen a King *undone* and imprisoned for his endeavours to protect his People, and bring againe beloved *Peace* to those that would not entertain it: and heard the report of his *murther* (for most of the Peoples eyes have not seen it, nor have their hearts

hearts acted in it) we ſhall, as moſt men do (after they have loſt a good offer or opportunity) enquire.

CHAP. VIII.

Whether the Conditions offered by the King would not have been more profitable, if they had been accepted; and what the people have got inſtead of them.

IN order to which, though ſo wofull and over-and-over-bitterly-*Taſted*, *Seen*, *Felt*, *Heard* and *Underſtood*, *Experiences* of the miſeries have come unto us by the Parliaments not accepting the gracious offers and conditions the King made unto them, may make it to be as needleſs to enquire of them, as for a man to ask where to finde *Pauls* Steeple in *London* when he is in *Pauls Churchyard*, or to enquire for the *Sun* in the *dog-days*, when he and every man elſe may ſee or feele the effects of it; we ſhall be content to conſider what the King

King offered, and what the Parliament would have had him to grant. What the King would have done, and what the Parliament have done; and by that ſee which would have been the better bargain.

The King like a *pater patriæ* offered over and over to grant all manner of Laws and Liberties, which might be good and wholſome for his People, and onely denied to grant thoſe things the granting whereof (as he ſaid himſelfe) *would alter the fundamental Laws*; and *endanger the very foundation upon which the publick happineſs and welfare of his People* was founded and conſtituted; or to give them ſtones in ſtead of bread, or *Scorpions* in ſtead of fiſhes. But the Parliament meaning to feed the People neither with *bread* nor fiſhes, ask the Royal Sword, *Crown*, and Scepter, Coronation Oath, and Conſcience, and an Arbitrary Power to governe and domineer over their fellow Subjects, and to enſlave thoſe that truſted them: And though the King had already granted enough to preſerve the Laws, Lives, Religion, and Liberty of the People, and was ſo willing, almoſt at any rate, to purchaſe a peace

peace for himſelf and his people; as he was content to part with his Sword and Militia, and divers other parts of his *Regality* during his life: Yet that would not ſerve the turn, 'twas *Naboths* Vineyard, not *Ahabs* Faſt, made all the buſineſſe: the Parliament, that pretended ſo much to deny themſelves, and to dote upon the people, doe notwithſtanding all they can to continue the War, and to cozen & force the peoples blood, eſtate, and conſcience out of them; and they muſt never give over paying of Taxes, fighting and *fooling*, till they enable them to impriſon their King, and not onely murther him, but thouſands, and many ten thouſands of their fellow-ſubjects, and the Lawes, Religion, and Liberties of the people.

And now that they have done more than the men of the Gun-powder-treaſon intended to do; & all *England* are becom like ſheep without a Shepherd; wandring on the mountains, & thouſands of *Wolves* by Votes & Ordinances, & miſcalled *Acts* of Parliament appointed to feed them; four or five yeares ſad experience in the Wars of the Parliament againſt the King, and almoſt as much more time ſpent in ſetling and ſubduing

the people, making them like *Camels*, to kneel down to take up their burdens, labour, and travel hard, and endure hunger and thirſt under them; yet yield up their *veines* to be prick'd for blood to enable their drivers to furniſh them with a new ſupply of burdens, when they ſhall be diſcharged of what they have laid upon them, may eaſily ſhew us a difference as big as a *mountain* betwixt our old good Lawes and Liberties enjoyed under a gracious *King*, who had an eſtate of inheritance large enough of his own, beſides an oath to oblige him to protect us; and a *Hell* upon *Earth*, and the moſt *Slaviſh* of all the Governments were ever yet put upon a Nation, by men of as little wit and eſtates as they have honeſty; having no other obligations upon them but their own abominable deſigns & intereſts. For which of the people, unleſs thoſe that have traded in their neighbours blood and ruine, but hath made their complaints of their undoing?

The Religion of the Kingdome, once ſo glorious, is now cut into fancies and blaſphemies; the Churches where God was wont to be worſhipped, either de-

faced

faced, or pulled down, or made ſtables for horſes; the Lawes of the *Kingdom*, that were conſonant to the Word of God, and had in them the *Quinteſſence* of all could be found to be extant in the Lawes of Nature, Nations, Civil Laws, or rectified Reaſon, and whatſoever the wiſedome and care of all former *Kings* in Parliament, or the uſage and cuſtoms of this or any other neighbouring Nations could bring to its perfection, and were wont to nouriſh & preſerve peace and property, among us voted out, or into that *ſenſe*, or to her *intereſt*, to that every thing or nothing, or to that *non-ſenſe* according as the Lawleſſe, Unlimited, Unjuſt and Ignorant will of fellow-ſubjects ſhall pleaſe to miſuſe them in the *Voting houſe*, or place of bandying *aies* or *noes*. (For a Parliament, which in its legal and primitive Inſtitution, conſiſting of *King*, Lords and Commons, and the right uſe of it, is ſo *venerable*, as no man (as our Lawes ſay) ought ſo much as to ſpeak or think diſhonourably of it, we cannot without violence to the Lawes, and our reaſon and underſtanding call it) where pu-blique orders are made without hearing

of

of all, or any parties interessed, a piece of a cause heard by some, and none at all of it by others; votes and parties made and packed and lent to one another before-hand, and the best of the Faction, and Juglers, carry all the businesse as they have a mind to it. A way of Justice worse than that (if there were any in it) of a lawlesse Court said to be kept yearly on a Hil betwixt *Raleigh* and *Rochford* in *Essex*, the wednesday afterevery *Michaelmas* day, where the Steward, or Judge *sitteth in the night after the first Cock-crowing, without any light or candle, and calleth all that are bound to attend the Court, with as low a voice as possibly he may, write orders with a coal, and they that answer not are deeply amerced*: For that being a particular punishment long agoe inflicted upon the Tenants ofcertain Manner in *Raleigh* hundred, for a conspiracy against the *King*, is but once a yeare, some shift, or chance, or mercy of the Steward, or an appeal, may take away the inconvenience of it. A way of government worse then to be subject to the rule of so many *fools*, for they might perchance doe that would be just; or so many *Knaves*, who but in playing the *Knaves* on:

Weavers Funeral Monuments, pag. 605.

one with another, or for reward, might sometimes do that which was right; or *Mad-men*, which at intervals might do something which was reasonable, worse then for every subject of *England* to be put to play at *dice* for his life, or estate, or any thing else he should crave a Justice to get or keep; for then he might by skill or chance obtain something: In fine, worse then any example or way of Government the world hath as yet produced, and can have nothing worse but Hell it self.

The Parliament and priviledges of it are destroyed, and every mans life and estate in no better a condition then at the pleasure of the next pretenders to it. All the *Charters* and *Liberties* of Cities and Corporate Towns, Corporations of Trade, and Companies of Merchants made void; all the Merchandise, Trade, and Manufacture of the Kingdom laid open, and in common to every one that will intrude upon it; all that is in the Law concerning our Lives, Estates, Liberties, and Religion, made void and dependant upon the Arbitrary *Independent* power; all that is in the Law concerning Navigation, the Kings

Protection of his people; certainty of Customes, Trade and Entercourse, Leagues and Correspondencies with Forrain Princes expired or annihilated, and all that our Fore-fathers have obtained by way of Lawes and Settlement, and certainty of Estate, are now at dispose of our vote-mongers; who in stead of a most pious and gracious King governing by known Lawes, have set us up 43. or 50. Kings, and ten times as many more *Knaves* and *Fools*, who will govern by no Law but such as they shall call Lawes and make themselves; can be accusers, witnesses and Judges, at one and the same time, and if need be, condemn and take away mens Estates first, and try them after two or three yeares Petitioning for it: a bondage & slavery in the general more then ever any of our Ancestors tasted of. For the *Romans*, whose Justice and Morality at home, and Vertue and Temperance abroad, made them free enough from Tyranny, did but make them as *Tributaries*: The *Picts* made but temporary incursions, and a wall could be made against them: The *Saxons* and *Danes* brought us good Lawes; and *William* the

the *Conquerour* was content to reſtore them. And all that ſucceeded him ſince, underſtood a government by Lawes to be their own as well as the peoples ſecurity: but this which they have now brought upon us, and would keep us under, is a miſery beyond that was ſuffered under the 30. *Tyrants* of *Athens*, *Spartan*, *Ephori*, or Romes *Decemvirat*, for there were ſomething of Lawes and Rules to govern by: The Children of *Iſrael* in the *Egyptian* ſlavery, had a property in their goods and cattel, and were at liberty to ſerve a better God then that of their Maſters; and though they had their burdens doubled upon them, were not kill'd, impriſoned, or ſequeſtred, for petitioning againſt the ſenſe of *Pharaoh*. The *Jewes* in Captivity had ſo much liberty of Conſcience allowed to them, as to play upon their *Harps*, and ſing the *Songs of Sion* in a ſtrange Land. The frozen *Ruſſians*, though ſo dull and ignorant, as when they are asked any matter of State, or difficulty, make anſwer, God and the great Duke knoweth, breath not under ſo Arbitrary & lawleſſe a government. The *Grecians* had not their Lawes, Religion,

ligion, and Liberties, as we have, all at once taken from them; nor can the ſufferings of them or any other vaſſals of the *Ottoman* Port, or thoſe that live under the *Crim Tartar*, equal the one half of our Engliſh ſlavery.

Into which we had never fallen or come at all, or ſo long groaned under, had we but ſerved *God* and the *King*, as we ought to have done, and not wreſted the ſenſe as well as the plain words of the *Scripture*, and the Lawes of the *Land*, to enable the ſons of *Zerviah* to be too hard for us, and bring all manner of miſchief, confuſion and wickedneſſe upon us, more then *Romes* and *Conſtantinoples Antichriſt* ever brought upon a people, and from which the King had delivered us, if we had not Curſed, Reviled, *Prayed*, Contributed, and Fought againſt him for endeavouring to *Protect* us. How gracious then was he who endured the heat of the day, and cold of the night, to preſerve a great deal more for us, then *Nabals* ſheep could amount unto; yet being worſe uſed then ever *David* was for it, could not tell how ſo much as to threaten to doe that which *David* had ſo great a mind to doe, but

fought

fought as long as he could to Protect them, would not ſo much as defend themſelves, but did all they could to ruine thoſe that defended him. And how much was he beyond *Codrus* the *Athenian* King, the Roman *Curtius*, or *Decii* (if all that the Ancients wrote of them were true) who ſacrificed themſelves, but not their Eſtates and Poſterity to preſerve the Publiques; and how good beyond example, or the credit of any Hiſtory, who made himſelf a *Martyr* for his peoples lives and liberties, and endured ſo many deaths, and ſuffered more indignities then all the Kings of *England* put together, have ever endured to preſerve a people, have (for a great part of them) either by Rebellion, or an accurſed *Newtrality*, helped to ruine him: and when he knew whatſoever *Conditions* or *Propoſitions* he ſhould be forced to yield unto, would by the Law of God, as well as the Civil and Common Law, the Lawes of Nature and Nations, and the dictates of every common mans reaſon and apprehenſion, have been void in the very making of them, and could not have reached to his Poſterity, and that if he would

but have surrendred up his people, and gone along with their new Masters in their *Arbitrary* and Tyrannical government, as some of his last words upon the *Scaffold* plainly intimate, and sided with 20. or 30. of the *Faction*, and delivered up the sheep to the *Wolves*, he might, no doubt, have had a good part of the Fleece to his own share; or but with *Sampson* have pleased himself with revenge, and delivered up a people to *Slavery*, were at so much expence of Treasure and Blood, and their own *Soules*, to bring their Soveraign to it; might have worn the Title of a King, and played the wanton with *Sardanapalus* in the company and delight of women, pleased his palat with *Vitellius*, his pride, if he had any, with *Bassianus*, his cruelty, if he could ever have been guilty of it, with *Commodus*, and with *Childerick* the lazy King of *France*, in a Chariot deck't with garlands, whilst others governed for him, been at certain times of the year onely exhibited to the people, and like the *Minotaure* of *Creete*, wallowed in the *labyrinth* of *Parliament Priviledges*, and devoured his people, did notwithstanding refuse to doe any thing

thing might help himſelf, either to purchaſe his own quiet, or ſo great a Liberty, and would neither for any good might come to *himſelf*, or any evil might be caſt upon him and his Poſterity, be perſwaded or threatned from the protection of his people, who (if he had not taken more care for them then they did for themſelves) muſt, if he had yielded to all the Parliament-propoſitions (for then they might *have imagined miſchief by a Law*) have from time to time been engaged in any Warre their *Task-maſters* had a mind to put them upon, muſt have been exciſed, plundred, ſequeſtred, ruined, and undone; ſworn and forſworn; conſtrained to ſwear to doe a thing to day, and the next day ſwear not all to doe it: The ſon ſet to kill his Father, and brothers forced to fight one againſt another, and have all their Holy-dayes turned to Thankſgiving-dayes, that they are undone, or Faſting-dayes that they may be undone *ſoon* enough. And if at any time that *thing* they call a *Parliament* ſhould think it fit to make a Directory to the *Alchoran*, and to order every man to turn *Turk*, and the King as their *Henry Scobel*,

bel, or Town-Clerk but ſubſcribe it, their *Spiritual* as well as their *Temporal* Eſtate, and their *Soules* as well as their Bodies, muſt be voted and forced to it.

And now let the people that have taſted too much of ſuch a kind of happineſſe, and are like to continue in it, as long as their *miſery-makers* can by any help of the *Devil* or his Angels hold them to it; conſider whether they or their fore-fathers (though ſome have thought themſelves to have wit enough to adventure to call them fooles) were the wiſer; whether they that ſetled the Government, and were contented with it, or they that pulled it in pieces, and whether the tearing up of the fundamental Lawes of *Monarchy*, *Peerage*, Parliament, and *Magna Charta*, even ſince this day the King was murthered for defending of them, which every one but themſelves deſired to uphold, be not enough (beſides the *Scottiſh* combination, and the plots to ruine *Monarchy*, and the King and his Poſterity, before the five Members and *Kimbolton* had ſo for engaged themſelves in it) to inform them, if nothing elſe had been demonſtrated unto them: That the

King

King did all he could to preſerve the *Lawes*, *Religion*, and *Liberties* of the people (which divers pieces of his coin will help to perpetuate the truth as well as the memory of) and the Parliament all they could to deſtroy them: And that as he actually endeavoured to defend them, ſo have they as actually undone and deſtroyed them. And let the greateſt ſearch of Hiſtory can be made, or time it ſelf be Judge, if ever any war was more made in the *defenſive*, or upon *juſter* grounds, or greater *neceſſities*, or if ever any King before fought for the *Liberties* of thoſe he was to govern, and for *Lawes* to reſtrain himſelf withal: or if it were poſſible for him to ſuffer ſo much in any mans opinion, as to have it thought to be *unlawful*, or that he was a *murtherer* of his people, for ſeeking to *protect* them. How ſhall any King or Magiſtrate be able to bear or uſe the Sword, when they themſelves ſhall be in continual danger to be beaten with it?

King *Edward* the ſecond of *England* was not murthered for the blood that was ſhed in the *Barons* Wars, though ſome of them had drawn their ſwords but

but in performance of his fathers will, to take away his favourite *Gaveſton* from him. King *Rich.* 2. in thoſe many deviſed Articles charged againſt him, was not depoſed for the blood was ſhed in *Wat Tilers* Commotion; nor *Hen.* 6. publickly accuſed for that of *Jack Cades* Rebellion, and the moſt bloody differences of the *White* and *Red-Roſes*; nor Queen *Elizabeth* for all that was ſpilt in reducing *Ireland*, when her favourite the Earl of *Eſſex* made it to be the more by his practiſes with *Tyrone*; nor for the blood of *Hacket*, who pretended to be Chriſt; nor of *Penry*, and other Sectaries (leſſer Incendiaries than *Burton*, *Prynne*, and *Baſtwick*) for diſturbing the Common-wealth; the great *Henry* of *France* was not endeavoured by his *Catholick* Subjects to be brought to trial for ſhedding ſo much of their blood to reduce them to his obedience, nor by his *Proteſtant* Subjects after he was turned Catholick, for ſpending ſo much of their blood to another *purpoſe* than they intended it. Nor have the ſtout-hearted *Germans* (though many of them great and almoſt free Princes) in their late Peace and Accord made betwixt the

Swedes

Swedes and the Emperour, thought it any way reasonable or necessary to demand reparation for those millions of men, women, and children, houses and estates, were ruined and spoiled by a thirty years War to reduce the *Bohemians* and Prince Elector Palatine to their obedience.

For what rules or bounds shall be put to every mans particular fancy or corrupted interest, if they shall be at Liberty to question and call to account the authority God hath placed over them? Shall the son condemn or punish the Father for his own disobedience? the Wife her Husband for her own act of Adultery? or the Servant the Master, for his own unfaithfulnesse? or can there be any thing in the Reason or understanding of man, to perswade him to think the King was justly accused for the shedding of his blood which the accusers themselves were only guilty of? And *Bradshaw* himself (like the Jewes high Priest, confessing a truth against his will) in the word he gave instead of reason for murthering the King against the will and good liking of nine parts in every ten of the Commons of *England*, could make

make his Masters that call themselves the Parliament of *England* to be no better then the *Tribum plebis* of *Rome*, and the *Ephori* of *Sparta*, the former of which for manifold mischiefes and inconveniences were abrogated, and laid aside, and never more thought fit to be used, and the latter (not being half so bad as our new state *Gipsies*) killed and made away to restore the People again to their Liberties.

But the opinion and Judgement of the Learned Lord Chief Justice *Popham* (who then little thought his grand-child Colonell *Popham* should joyn with those that sate with their Hats on their Heads, and directed the murther of their Soveraign: and if he were now living would sure enough have hanged him for it) and those other learned Judges, in the case and Tryall of the Earl of *Essex*, in the Raign of Queen *Elizabeth*, That *an intent to hurt the Soveraign Prince, as well as the act of it was Treason*: And *that the Laws of* England *do interpret every act of Rebellion or Treason to aim at the death or deposing of the Prince*. For *that Rebells by their good will never suffer that King or Prince to live or Raign, that understands*

derstands their purposes, and may revenge them, agreeable to that of the Civil Law: *That they that go about to give Law to their Prince will never suffer him to recover Authority to punish it*; is now written in the blood of the King, and those many iterated complaints of the King in severall of his Declarations published to the people (in the midst of the Parliaments greatest pretences and promises) that they intended to take away his life, and ruine him, are now gone beyond suspition: and every man may now know the meaning of their Canoneers levelling at the King with perspective glasses, at *Copredy* bridge, the acquitting of *Pym* the Innkeeper, who said, *He would wash his Hands in the Kings hearts-blood*, stifling of fifteen or sixteen severall indictments for treasonable words; & *Rolf* rewarded for his purpose to kil him, and the prosecutors checked, and some of them imprisoned for it. For the Sun in the Firmament, and the four great quarters of the Earth, and the Shapes and Lineaments of man are not so universally known, seen or spoken of, as this will be most certain to the present, as well as after ages. The end hath now verified the begin-

ning

ning,& *Quod primum fuit in intentione ultimo loco agitur*, Seaven years hypocritical Promises & practices, 7. years Pretences, and seven years preaching and prating have now brought us all to this conclusion as wel as Confusion. The blood of old *England* is let out by greater witchcraft and cousenage then that of *Medea*, when she set *Pelias* daughters to let out his old blood, that young might come in the place of it; the Cedars of *Lebanon* are devoured, and the Trees have made the *Bramble* King, and are like to speed as wel with it as the *Frogs* did with the *Storke* that devoured them; And they have not onely slain the King who was their Father, but like *Nero*, rip't up the belly of the Common-Wealth, which was their *Mother*: The light of *Israel* is put out; and the King, Laws, Religion, and Liberties of the people *murthered*, an action so horrid, and a sin of so great a magnitude, and complication, as if we shall ask the *daies that are past*, and enquire from the one end of the Earth to the other, there will not be found any wickednesse like to this *great wickednes*, or hath been heard like it. The *Severn*, *Thames*, *Trent*, and *Humbar*, four

of

of the greateſt Rivers of the Kingdome with all their leſſer running ſtreams of the Iſland in their continuall courſes, and thoſe huge heaps of waterin the Ocean girdle of it in their Reſtleſſe agitations will never be able to ſcoure and waſh away the guilt and ſtain of it, though all the rain which the clouds ſhal ever bring forth, and impart to this Nation, and the tears of thoſe that bewail the loſſe of a King of ſo eminent graces and perfections bee added to it.

Quis cladem illius diei? quis funera fando
Explicet? aut poſſit lachrymis æquare dolores?
Gens antiqua ruit, multos dominata per Annos.

THE

or the greatest Rivers of the Kingdome with all their lesser running streams of the Island in their continuall courses, and those huge heaps of waterin the Ocean girdle of it in their Bestlesse agitations will never be able to scoure and wash away the guilt and stain of it, though all the rain which the clouds shal ever bring forth, and impart to this Nation, and the tears of those that bewail the lasse of a King of so eminent graces and perfections bee added to it.

Quis eladem illius diei? quis funera fando
Explicet? aut possit lachrymis aequare dolores?
Gens antiqua ruit, multos dominata per Annos.

THE

AN EXACT LIST

OF

The Names of thoſe pretended Judges who ſate, and ſentenced our late SOVERAIGNE KING CHARLES the Firſt, in the place which they called the High Court of Juſtice, *Jan.* 27. 1648.

And alſo of thoſe thirty five Witneſſes Sworn againſt the ſaid KING; The Sentence read againſt him; With the Catalogue of the Names of thoſe that Subſcribed and Sealed the Warrant for his Execution.

And the manner of his *Cruel* MURDER.

London, Printed by *Henry Bell*, and are to be ſold by moſt Book-ſellers, 1660.

The Names of the pretended Judges, who gave Sentence againſt the late King, *January* 27. 1648.

LXXII in Number.

John Bradſhaw Lord Preſident.
Oliver Cromwell.
Henry Ireton.
Sir *Hardreſs Waller.*
Valentine Walton.
Thomas Harriſon.
Edward Whaley.
Thomas Pride.
Iſaac Ewer.
Lord *Grey* of *Grooby.*
William Lord *Mounſon.*
Sir *John Danvers.*
Sir *Thomas Maleverer.*
Sir *John Bourcher.*
Iſaac Pennington.
Henry Martin.
William Purifoye.
John Barkſtead.
Matthew Tomlinſon.
John Blakeſton.
Gilbert Millington.
Thomas Chaloner.
Sir *William Conſtable.*
Edmund Ludlow.
John Hutchiſon.
Sir *Michael Liveſey.*
Robert Tichburne.
Owen Roe.
Robert Lilburne.
Adrian Scroop.
Richard Dean.
John Okey.
John Harriſon.
John Hewſon.
William Goffe.
Cornelius Holland.
John Carew.
John Jones.
Thomas Liſter.

Peregrine Pelham.	*Miles Corbett.*
Thomas Wogan.	*Simon Meyne.*
Francis Alleu.	*John Alured.*
Daniel Blagrave.	*Henry Smith.*
John Moor.	*Humphrey Edwards.*
William Say.	*John Frye.*
Francis Laſcels.	*Edmund Harvey.*
John Chalonen.	*Thomas Scot.*
Gregory Clement.	*William Cawley.*
Sir *Gregory Norton.*	*John Downes.*
John Venn.	*Thomas Hammond.*
Thomas Andrews.	*Vincent Potter.*
Anthony Stapley.	*Auguſtine Garland.*
Thomas Horton.	*Charles Fleetwood.*
John Liſle.	*John Temple.*
John Browne.	*Thomas Wayte.*
John Dixwell.	

Counſellors

Counſellors aſſiſtant to this Court, and to draw up the Charge againſt the KING, were

Dr. *Doriſlaus.*	Serjeant *Danby*, Serjeant at Arms.	
Mr. *Aske.*		
Mr. *John Cook* Solicitor.	Mr. *Broughton*	Clerkes to the Court.
	Mr. *Phelpes*	

Colonel *Humphrey* Sword-bearer.

Meſſengers, Door-keepers and Criers, were theſe;

Mr. *Walford.*	Mr. *Paine.*	Mr. *Hull.*
Mr. *Radley.*	Mr. *Powell.*	Mr. *King.*

The Sentence againſt the ſaid King, Jan. 27 1648. *which was read by Mr.* Broughton *aforeſaid,* Clerk.

WHereas the Commons of *England* in Parliament have appointed them an High Court of Juſtice for

the Trial of *Charles Stuart* King of *England*, before whom he had been three times convented, and at the first time a Charge of High Treason and other Crimes and Misdemeanors was read in the behalfe of the Kingdome of *England*, &c. as in the Charge which was read throughout.

To which Charge, he the said *Charles Stuart* was required to give his Answer, but he refused so to do; and so expresst several passages at his Trial in refusing to answer.

For all which Treasons and Crimes, this Court doth adjudge, That the said *Charles Stuart*, as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murderer, and publick Enemy, shall be put to death, by severing his head from his body.

This Sentence (says the President) now read and published is the Act, Sentence, Judgement and Resolution of the whole Court. To which the Members of the Court stood up and assented to what he said *by holding up their hands.*

The King offered to speak, but he was instantly commanded to be taken away, and the court broke up.

The

The Names of thirty five Witneſſes produced and Sworn in the ſaid pretended Court, to give Evidence againſt the *King*.

Henry Hartford *of* Stratford *upon* Avon *in Com.* Warwick.
Edward Roberts *of* Biſhops Caſtle *in Com.* Salop, *Ironmonger.*
Will. Baines *of* Wrixhall in *Com.* Salop.
Robert Lacie *of* Nottingham, *Painter.*
Robert Loads *of* Cottam *in Com.* Nottingham, *Tyler.*
Samuel Morgan *of* Wellington *in Com.* Salop, *Feltmaker.*
James Williams *of* Roſſe *in Com.* Hartford, *Shoomaker.*
Richard Pots *of* Sharpreton *in Com.* Northumberland, *Vintner.*
Giles Grice *of* Wellington *in Com.* Salop, *Gent.*
William Arnop *of*
John Hudſon *of*
John Winſton *of* Dornotham *in Com.* Wilts.

George

George Seeley *of* London, *Cordwainer.*
John Moor *of* Cork *in* Ireland, *Gent.*
Thomas Ives *of* Boyſet *in Com.* Northampton, *Husbandman.*
James Cresby *of* Dublin *in* Ireland, *Barber.*
Thomas Rawlins *of* Hanſlop *in Com.* Buck. *Gent.*
Richard Bloomfeild *of* London, *Weaver.*
John Thomas *of* Langallan *in Com.* Denbigh.
William Lawſon *of* Nettingham, *Maulſter.*
John Pinegar *of* Damer *in Com.* Darby, *Shoomaker.*
Humphrey Browne *of* Whitſundine *in Com.* Rutland, *Yeoman.*
David Evans *of* Abergeveny *in Com.* Monmouth, *Smith.*
Robert Holmes *of*
Robert Williams *of*
Samuel Woorden *of* Lineham *in Com.* Wilts, *Gent.*
Thomas Read *of* Maidſtone *in Com.* Kent, *Gent.*
George Cornwall *of* Aſton *in Com.* Hereford, *Forgeman.*
William Jones *of* Uske *in Com.* Monmouth,

mouth, *Husbandman.*
Arthur Young *Citizen and Barber-Chirurgion of* London.
Diogenes Edwards *of* Carſton *in Com.* Salop, *Butcher.*
John Bennet *of* Harwood *in Com.* Ebor. *Glover.*
William Cutbert *of* Patrington *in* Holderneſs *in Com.* Ebor. *Gent.*
Richard Price *of* London, *Scrivener.*
Henry Gouch *of* Grays-Inn, *Gent.*

The true manner of proceeding to take off the *Kings* Head, according to the Sentence given as aforeſaid.

SIr *Hardreſs Waller*, Colonel *Harriſon*, Commiſſary General *Ireton*, Colonel *Dean*, and Colonel *Okey*, were appointed to conſider of the Time and Place for the Execution of the King, according to his Sentence, given by the (pretended) High Court of Juſtice.

Paint-

Painted-Chamber, Monday *January* the 29th 1648.

UPon Report made from the Committee for considering of the Time and Place of the Executing of the Judgment against the King, that the said Committee have Resolved, *That the open street before* Whitehal *is a fitting place*: And the said Committee conceive it fit, *That the King be there executed the morrow, the King having already notice thereof.*

The Court approved thereof, and ordered a Warrant to be drawn to that purpose, which Warrant was accordingly drawn and agreed to, and Ordered to be ingrossed, which was done and signed and sealed accordingly, as followeth.

At

At the High Court of Justice for the Trying and Judging *Charles Stuart*, King of *England*, *Jan.* 29. 1648.

WHereas *Charles Stuart* King of *England*, is and standeth Convicted, Attainted and Condemned of High Treason, and other Crimes, and Sentence on Saturday last was pronounced against him by this Court, to be put to Death, by the severing his head from his body, of which Sentence Execution yet remaineth to be done. These are therefore to will and require you, to see the said Sentence Executed in the open street before *White-hall* upon the morrow, being the 30. day of this instant Moneth of *January*, between the hours of Ten in the morning, and Five in the afternoon of the same day, with full effect; and for so doing, this shall be your sufficient Warrant: and these are to require all Officers and Soldiers and other the good People of *England* to bee assistant unto you in this service. Given under our hands and Seals.

To

To Colonel *Francis Hacker*, Col. *Huncks*, and Lievtenant Colonel *Phray*, and to every of them.

Sealed and Subſcribed by,

John Bradſhaw Preſident.
Thomas Gray.
Oliver Cromwell.
Edward Whaley.
John Okey.
John Danvers.
Mich. Liveſey.
John Bourcher.
Henry Ireton.
Tho. Maleverer.
Jo. Blackſton.
Jo. Hutchiſon.
William Goffe.
Tho. Pride.
Henry Smith.
Vincent Potter.
William Conſtable.
Rich. Ingoldsby.
William Cawley.
John Barkſtead.
Iſaac Ewer.
Val. Walton.
Peter *Temple.*
Tho. Harriſon.
Joh. Hewſon.
Pet. *Pelham.*
Richard Dean.
Robert Titchburn.
Hump. Edwards.
Dan. Blagrave.
Owen Roe.
Will. Puriſoye.
Adrian Scroop.
James Temple.
Aug. Garland.
Edmon Ludlow,
Hen. Martin.

Jo.

Jo. Alured.	*Hadreſs Waller.*
Robert Lilburn.	*Gilbert Millington.*
Will. Say.	*Ch. Fleetwood.*
Anthony Stapley.	*Jo. Venn.*
Gregory Norton.	*Greg. Clement.*
Tho. Chaloner.	*Jo Downs.*
Tho Wogan.	*Tho. Wait.*
Simon Meyne.	*Tho Scot.*
Tho. Horton.	*John Carew.*
Jo. Jones.	*Miles Corbet.*
Jo. Moore.	In all Fifty eight.

Ordered, *That the Scaffold on which the King is to be executed, be covered with black.*
The warrant for executing the King being accordingly delivered to thoſe parties to whom the ſame was directed, Execution was done upon him according to the Tenour thereof, about two of the clock in the afternoon, of the ſaid 30th. of *January*, 1648.

THE

The fatall day of the ſaid Execution, being Tueſday, January, the 30. 1648.

HIs Majeſty continued in prayer all the morning, and receive the Sacrament juſt at Ten of the Clock before noon; he was conveyed on foot from St. *James's Palace* to *Whitehall*, guarded by a Regiment of foot Souldiers, part before, part behind, with Colours flying, and Drums beating, his private guard of Partizans about him, and Dr. *Juxon* Biſhop of *London*, next to him on one ſide, and Colonell *Tomlinſon* on the other; being come to *Whitehall*, he continued in his Cabinet Chamber at his devotions refuſing to dine, only about 12 a clock he eat a bit of bread, and drank a glaſſe of Claret Wine; from thence he was conveyed into the Banquetting houſe, and the great window inlarged, out of which he aſcends the Scaffold, the rails being hung round, and the floor covered with black, His Executioners diſguiſed with Vizards, yet was his Majeſty not affrighted: He ſhewed more care of the people living, then of himſelf dying: for looking

looking upon the people, whom the thick guards of Souldiers kept a great diſtance off, and ſeeing he could not be heard by them, omitting (probably) what hee purpoſed to have ſpoken to them, therefore turning to the Officers and actors by him, he delivered himſelf in a ſhort, but excellent) Speech, which being ended, he meekly went to prayers, and after ſome heavenly diſcourſe between him and the Biſhop, having prepared himſelf, he lifted up his eyes to heaven mildly praying to himſelf, he ſtooped down to the block as to a prayer-desk, & moſt humbly bowed his generous Neck to God, to be cut off by the Vizarded Executioner, which was ſuddainly done at one blow. Thus fell King *Charles*, and thus all *Britain* with him.

A SHORT HISTORY

OF

His Royall Majeſty, our moſt Gracious SOVERAIGN

Charles the Second,

KING of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. Third Monarch of Great *Brittain*.

London, Printed by *Henry Bell*, and are to be ſold by moſt Book-ſellers, 1660.

A Short HISTORY OF His Royall Majesty, King CHARLES the Second, &c

HAving I hope sufficiently cleared his late Royall majesty from that execrable sin of blood-guiltinesse, (to every one that is not wilfully blind) I shall now crave leave to give the Reader a short account of the Life, and hitherto sorrowfull Raign of our most Gracious and Dread Soveraign *Charles* the Second, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.*

No sooner was this mighty Prince,

barbarouſly butchered before his own doors, to the aſtoniſhment and griefe of the greateſt part of his Subjects throughout his Dominions; And the three Lords *Hamilton*, *Capel*, and *Holland*, which had taken up Arms in his late Majeſties defence; but now Monarchy, the darling of the people, together with the Houſe of Peers, is voted chargeable, unneceſſary, and uſeleſs: and the Government changed into a Free State: neither did this mutation happen for want of ſuch as by a lineall diſcent, and according to the uſage of this Nation might pretend a Title to the Crown; for there was a plentifull iſſue of his late Majeſty, both male and female then ſurviving, but from the aſpiring greatneſs of ſome who had wreſted the power into their own hands, to this end it was ordered by the then *Junto* ſitting in Parliament, that all publick Writings ſhould be iſſued out under a new Teſt and Stile, and a new great Seale ſhould be made and the old one broken, that the Inſcription and Stamp of the Coin ſhall be altered alſo. It was Enacted and Proclaimed that none upon pain of high Treaſon, ſhould preſume to declare and publickly promote

The gavernment of the Kindoms is changed,

mote *Charles Stuart* Prince of *Wales*, eldeſt Son of the late King, or any of the reſt of his Children to be King of *England*.

Nevertheleſs, there was not wanting thoſe who ventured their lives and fortunes in aſſerting the Title of his Majeſty to the Crown of *England*, to which end this following Proclamation was Printed and diſperſed in ſeverall places of *London*.

We the Noble men, Judges, Knights, Lawyers, Gentlemen, Free-holders, Merchants, Citizens, Yeomen, Seamen, and Free men of England, *do according to our Allegiance and Covenant, by theſe preſents heartily, joyfully, and unanimouſly, acknowledge and Proclaim the moſt Illuſtrious* Charles, *Prince of* Wales, *next Heir apparent to his Father King* Charls, *(whoſe late wicked murther, and all conſents thereunto, we from our ſouls abominate) to be by hereditary birth right, and lawfull ſucceſſion, rightfull, and undoubted King of Great Brittain, &c. And we will conſtantly and ſincerely, in our ſeverall places and callings, defend and maintain his Royall perſon, Crown, and Dignity, with our Lives and Eſtates, againſt all oppoſers,*

whom we hereby declare to be enemies to his Majeſty and Kingdomes, in Teſtimony whereof we have cauſed theſe to be publiſhed throughout all Counties and Corporations of this Realm the 1. *day of* February, *In the firſt year of his Majeſties Raign.*

But ſo totally was the Kings party ſuppreſſed in all parts of the Kingdom, that the Proclamation was of none effect, none daring to appear for the Royal Intereſt.

K. Proclaim Ireland.

Yet his Majeſties greateſt hopes and expectations were from *Ireland*, where the ſeverall factions united together, Proclaim him King, and bend all their whole ſtrength againſt the Intereſt of the Common-Wealth of *England*, and in a ſhort time became ſo formidable, and prevail ſo much, as the poſſeſſed all the ſtrong Holds of that Country —— *Dublin* and *London-Derry* are excepted, both were ſtraitly beſieged, the former by a gallant Army of 22000 men, under the Marqueſſe of *Ormond*, the latter by a party of the *Iriſh* Rebells: Hee had likewiſe adjoining to the Territories of *England*, the Iſlands of *Scilly*, *Jerſy*, and *Man* which places ſerved as a retreat for that ſmall Fleet that was left him, being

Marqueſs of Ormonds Army defeated be-

being the remainder of those Ships which had deserted the Parliaments Navy, and revolted unto him. This while his affairs in *Ireland* were at the height; they began as suddenly to decline, for there being about 3000 Horse and Foot safely landed at *Dublin* (as the forlorn of a greater body) they were joyned with what other forces they then could make all which did not make above 9000. at the most, were commanded by Colonell *Mich. Jones*, who sallying forth of *Dublin*, did not onely raise the seige, but also utterly routed the whole Army, the Marquesse of *Ormond* himselfe hardly escaping, about 2000 were slain in the place, and in the pursuite some thousands were taken prisoners, as likewise all their Ordinaces, Ammunition, Carriages, and Provision; The seige of *London-Derry*, was also raised by a resolute sally of Sir *Charls Coot* forcing Sir *Rob. Stewart*, and Col. *Merven* to retire immediately upon this success, not to give the Royall party any time to recover strength. All disturbances being quieted in *England*, The Levellers at *Burford* being suppressed by Generall *Fairfax*: *Oliver Cromwell*, then Lievetenant Generall of the Parliaments Army

Siege of Lon.-Derry raised by Sir Charles Coot,

Crom. lands with an Army in Ireland.

Army, landed with a powerfull Army about the midst of *August*, 1649. invested with the Title and Authority of Lord Governour, or Lievetenant of *Ireland*, presently after him followed his son in law Major Generall *Ireton*, with about 40. Sail of Ships, soon after *Drogheda* was taken by *Storme*, not without some difficulty and loss; and that hee might terrify other Garrisons, that should stand out, put Sir *Arthur Aston* & all that were in the Town to the Sword, which was about 3000. Then followed the taking of a number of considerable Towns and Castles in all parts of *Ireland*.

Besides severall Field-battells, gained over the Lord *Inchiqueen*, the Lord *Ards* and *Clanduboys* with Lievetenant Generall *Farrell* and others of his Majesties party, by the Lord *Broghill*, Sir *Charles Coote*, Collonell *Venables*, *Zanchy*, *Reynolds*, and *Hewson*: so that in lesse then a years time *Ireland* was subdued to the power of the English Common-Wealth. Much about this time hapned a generall defection of the *English* Plantations, from their obedience to the Parliament, *viz.* *Virginia* and the

the *Caryb* Iſlands publickly own the Royall Intereſt, whereupon all Traffique and Commerce is prohibited, thorow which means they are driven to great ſtreits; and preſently after by a Fleet of Ships from *England*, under the Command of Sir *George Aſcue*, they are brought unto conformity. The King having Conſtituted Prince *Rupert* Admirall of his Fleet, did much harm to the Engliſh Coaſts, and takes many rich prizes, was at laſt blockt up in the Harbour of *Kings Sale*, the Town preſently after taken by *Cromwell*; The Prince is forced to leave three of his Ships behind, he had enough to do to get clear off with the reſt; at length he arrived at *Lisbon*, the imperiall City of the King of *Portugall*, and craved his protection, which was not denied them, which was the occaſion of a great Conteſt between that King and the State of *England*, other deſignes were ſet on foot by his Majeſties Loyall Subjects, for the obtaining of his Right.

Prince Ruperts fleet blockt up at Kings ſale.

The firſt was of *James Graham* Earl of *Montroſs*, for the raiſing of what force he cold in *Holland* and elſe where, to invade *Scotland*.

The

The 2. was the procuring a Treaty betwixt his Majesty and the Scots: to give more life to these undertakings, Ambassadors were dispatcht to *Spain*, *Italy*, *Denmarke*, *Sweden* and *Russia*, &c. In the name of CHARLES the Second, King of Great *Britain*, *France* and *Ireland*, *Defender of the Faith*. The effect of whose Embassies were little else but Complements, pleas, and excuses for neither men nor mony could be got.

Montrosse, According to his Majesties instructions having got together very considerable supplies of men and monies at length lands in the North of *Scotland*, where he had not long been, but Colonell *Straughan*, Colonell *Kerr*, Colonell *Mountgomry*, and Lievetenant Colonell *Hackets* Troop, and another amounting to 230 approach and give battel, whereas *Montrosse* was at least 1200. and their Chief-Leaders such resolute and expert souldiers unlesse struck with fear of *Lesley's* great Army coming against them: however so great was the defeat that the whole body of *Montrosse* was engaged in the battle.

There escaped not above 100 from being either taken or slain, amongst the prisoners,

ners were S. *Joh. Urry*, Major General of *Montroſſes* Army, the L. *Fendraught*. Col. *Grey*, Lievetenant Colonell *Stewart*, with a great number of other conſiderable Officers; *Montroſſe* himſelf made a Shift to eſcape for the preſent, his horſe together with his Belt and his Coat with the ſtar being found made it conjectur'd that he had been ſlain in the field. In this fight the Royall Standard was taken, upon which was portraited the Head of the late King lying a bleeding, with thir Motto, *Judge and revenge my Cauſe O Lord!* The Lord *Pitsferd* ſon being Standard-bearer, was ſlain; ſo welcome was the news of this Victory to the State and Kirk of *Scotland*, that they beſtowed a reward upon *Straughan*, 1000l. Sterling, and a chain of gold! upon Lievetenant Colonel *Hacket* 1000. Marke Starling: But that which Crowned this Victory to them with the higheſt joy and ſatisfaction, was the getting *Montroſſes* perſon into their hands; For he having wandred ſo long in the woods, to avoid being detected, till driven to that neceſſity, he was forced to eat his gloves, and gnaw a piece of his fleſh for very extremity of hunger, was at laſt

diſcovered

diſcovered by a Country fellow,& by a party ſent to apprehend him, was dragged out of a Caveor hollow Tree: he was no ſoonerraken, but was Imediately ſent up to *Edin.* whoſe Streets were filled with infinite crowdes of people to ſee him, while he was brought into the City in a Cart, in which was placed a Chair for him to ſit in, whereunto hee was bound with Ropes, and ſate bare headed, his Hat having been taken off his Head by the executioner who rode before him with his Bonnet on; ſome pittied, but the moſt inſulted over him. Being ſummon'd to appear before the Parliament, he came into the houſe apparrelled with a rich ſuit, thick overlaid with coſtly lace, and over it a Scarlet Rocket, a Beaver hat, with a hatband, and other ſuitable abiliments, all which he cauſed to be made him immediately upon his coming to *Edenburgh*; as ſoon as he was brought to the Bar, the Lord Chancellor who according to the cuſtome of that Kingdom is alwayes Speaker told him that he muſt kneel at the Bar, whereunto he anſwered, my Lords I ſhall withall my heart obſerve any poſture you ſhall appoint me to appear before

fore you in, whereby I may manifeſt to you that I freely ſubmit to the Authority of Parliament, and to this preſent Parliament in a more ſpeciall manner, becauſ you have concluded ſo near a conjunction with his Majeſty my Maſter in the late Treaty; Then the Chancellor made a ſpeech unto him, the ſubſtance was this,

Sir I am commanded to mind you of the laſt Judgement of God befaln yon for your perfideous breaking of the Covenant which might juſtly provoke God thus to divert your Counſell and affairs for having been ſo eminent an actor and Anthor of miſchief againſt this Nation: You abandoned the Covenant, and deſpiſed the Oath of God, and did invade your native Country, and with moſt inhumane barbarous cruelty did waſt and burn divers parts of it, and have ſpilt much blood of his Majeſties good ſubjects, and for theſe crimes you are excommunicated by the Church, and fore-faulted by the Parliament of this Kingdom, and to this day yon have remained without the leaſt ſhew of repentance; and now God by his providence hath juſtly brought you hither to receive the ſentence of your condemnation: Hereupon Montroſſe *humbly deſiring*

deſiring to know of his Lordſhip whether he might be permitted to ſpeak what he had to ſay for himſelf; he was told by the Chancellor, the eſtates in Parliament did give him free liberty to ſpeak what he could in his own defence.

His anſwer, My Lord, I am glad I have liberty to anſwer for my ſelf, though I am your Priſoner yet my cauſe is good, nor is there any breach of your Covenant on my part in which I ſwore to be true to his Majeſty, his Heirs, and ſucceſſors Concerning what I have done in relation to the Wars and affairs of this Kingdom, I have not onely a generall Commiſſion but particular Orders from his Majeſty which I was engaged to obey by my Covenant. Concerning my coming over now, I was aſcertained that you did comply with his Majeſty to the preſent affairs, in which he hath imployed me, and it was upon that account that I have acted, I deſire to ſubmit unto this preſent Parliament, and the Authority thereof to be my Judges in this caſe, whom I own as a true Parliament by Authority from his Majeſty, and ſhall be content however it ſhall pleaſe God to deal with me, as for my life, if you take

it

it away by this authority, its wel known I regard it not; Death is a debt which we all owe, and muſt once be paid by every one. I ſhall be willing, and much rejoyce to go the ſame way my Maſter paſſed before me, it's the joy of my heart not onely to do but to ſuffer for him. After the Priſoner had been had in, and withdrawn, the Parliament agreed unanimouſly upon ſentence of condemnation, who being again called in, the Chancellor cõmanded to be read, which was as followeth.

Sentence in Parliament

You are to be carried back to the place from whence you came from thence to morrow morning being 20 May, 1650 *you are to be carried to* Edenburgh *Croſs, there to be hanged upon a Gallows* 30 *foot high, for three hours ſpace, then to be taken down, and your head to be cut off upon a ſcaffold, and hanged on* Edenburgh *Talbooth; your leggs and arms to be hanged up in other publick Towns of this Kingdom; and your body to be buried at the place where you are executed.*

Which Sentence he heard with an unmoved countenance, and deſiring to bee further heard, was preſently ſtopped by the Chancellor, who commanded hee

ſhould preſently be removed back again to Priſon. The appointed day for the executing of his Tragedy being come, he was led forth to the execution, where he ſuffered accordingly. Thus dyed the glorious aſſertor of his Majeſties right.

Next to *Montroſs* was executed Sir *John Urry*, Colonel *Spotſwood*, and others that were chief actors, *&c.* The Engliſh now ſend to ſtrengthen their alliance with the united Provinces, Doctor *Dorriſlaw* went as publick Agent, thereby to keep a good correſpondence betwixt the two republicks, where hee had not long been ere hee was ſlain by ſix Aſſiſtants, that brake into his lodgings at the *Hague*, in a diſguiſed habit, and ſo eſcaped puniſhment.

His Royall Majeſty having long expected the *Scots* meſſage at St. *Germans* reſolved upon a removall to the *Iſle* of *Jerſey*, a little before his departure out of *France*, the moſt valiant Duke of *York* came to him, as alſo to the French King and Cardinall *Mazarine*, of whom hee deſired aid in the behalfe of his brother, but the Cardinall put him off with a few ſpecious pretences; only the Duke was preſented with 100000 Crowns. About the

the beginning of *September* his Majeſty accompanied with his brother the Duke of *York*, and divers other Lords and Gentlemen to the number of about 300 perſons landed in the Iſland of *Jerſey*: upon his firſt Arrivall he was proclaimed King. The Lord *Jermyn* made Governour of the Iſland, under whom Sir *George Carteret* was conſtituted Deputy Governour. *Guernſey* being poſſeſſed by the Parliaments forces, a Declaration was ſent thither inviting the Governour and people to ſubmit to his Majeſties obedience; But this invitation did little avail. By this time the ſeverall Tranſactions that were between his Majeſty & his Kingdom of *Scotland* had brought forth a Treaty at *Breda* in the *Netherlands*, a Town of ſpeciall note belonging to the Prince of *Orange*. And Maſter *Windram* Lord of *Libeton* is ſent Commiſſioner from the States of *Scotland*, to Treat with his Majeſty; who being ſafely arrived, preſents his Royall Majeſty with the deſires and offers of the States of *Scotland*, which were to this effect.

1. That hee would ſign the ſolemn League and Covenant. 2. That he would paſs divers Acts of the Parliament of

Scotland. 3. That he would put away all Papiſts from about him, and let none but known Proteſtants be of his Counſell, That he would give a ſpeedy anſwer to their deſires. Beſides this his Majeſty hath great hopes of raiſing a ſufficient force in *England*, among the friends to his Royall Intereſt. Upon this deſign ſeverall are ſent from *Jerſey*, into the *Weſt* of *England*, amongſt whom two Principal men, Sir *John Berkley*, and Col. *Slingsby*, who went up and down to their confederates, earneſtly ſtirring them up to take up Arms for his Majeſty, but theſe were diſcovered by a Country fellow, and are taken by Cap. *Rochwich*, and are ſent Priſoners to *Truro* in *Cornwall*.

Treaty concluded.

After many conſultations, and gracious condiſcentions of his Majeſty, The Treaty is at laſt concluded; and now the Kingdom of *Scotland* make great preparations for his reception, to this end two rich houſes in *Edinburgh* are richly furniſhed, and the Parliament take into conſideration the nominating of Officers for his houſe About the beginning of *June*, 1650. his Majeſty haſts from *Breda* to the *Hague*. Thence to *Scheveling*, where he took Shiping, and

Preparat. for his Maj.

at

at laſt in deſpight of fowl weather and the Engliſh King Fiſhers that lay there to intercept him, he landed at *Spey* in the North of *Scotland*. In the mean time the Parliament of *Scotland*, bend their conſultations for the raiſing of an Army for the uſe of his Majeſty, the Earl of *Leven* is made Generall of the Foot, and *Holborun* Major General; *David Laſley* Lievtenant Generall of the Horſe, & *Mountgomery* Major Generall. The Supream command of the whole Army is reſerved for the Kings moſt excellent Majeſty himſelf, whom at his Arrivall they entertained with high complements, and much acclamation, and ſeemed to congratulate his coming, with much demonſtrations of joy and affection. And on the 15. *July* following, ſolemnly proclaim him King at *Edinburgh* Croſſe. About this time the Engliſh ſend a complaint to the King of *Spain*, about the death of one *Aſcam* who was ſent thither as Agent from our new Commonwealth, who the firſt night he came to *Madrid*, ſitting at dinner with his Interpreter *Segnior Riba*, ſix black Devills in the ſhape of men knockt at the door, had eaſy acceſs, and being entred,

His Maje. proclaimed K. Edinbur. Croſs;

Maſter *Aſcham* roſe up to ſalute them; whereupon the formoſt ſtabbed him in the head, his interpreter endeavouring to eſcape was alſo ſtabbed in the belly. The Republick of *England* receiving good intelligence that his Majeſty and the Kingdom of *Scotland* were agreed; After a ſerious and ſolemn debate, Voted that *Thomas Lord Fairfax*, with an Army under his command, ſhould march Northwards But that noble and truly valiant Commander, could not be entreated to fight againſt his ſacred Majeſty, and our Brethren of *Scotland*, and hereupon laid down his Commiſſion.

Which was forthwith conferred upon the Archeſt of Traitors *Oliver Cromwell*, who preſently after arrived out of *Ireland*, leaving *Ireton* his ſon in Law as Lord Deputy in his room; Accordingly Orders were iſſued forth, for the ſpeedy advance of the Army in *Scotland*, who had no ſooner taken their march but the *Scots* take the Alarm, and ſend two or three papers to Sir *Arthur Haſilrig* then Governour of Newcaſtle, to expoſtulate the caſe about the ſudden approach of the Engliſh Army, alledging the Covenant or large Treaty of Union betwixt

twixt the two Kingdoms, and other circumſtances of the like nature, but all proved fruitleſs. The Parliament then publiſh a declaration, ſhewing the reaſon of their Armies advance towards *Scotland*: The Engliſh Army is now at laſt at *Dunbar*, where the Scots have the Engliſh at a great diſadvantage: nevertheleſs the Generall and his Officers finding the Army unfit for further delays, reſolved the next morning to fall upon the Scots, who being imbattled by break of day, the word of the Engliſh was the Lord of Hoſtes, and that of the Scotts was the Covenant; after an hours diſpute the Scots were wholly routed, there was ſlain 3000, the Lord *Libberton*, Colonell *Lumſden* mortally wounded, 1000. taken, together with Sir *James Lumſden*, Lievtenant Generall of the Foot. And about 260 other Officers 200 Colours 15000 Armes, and 30. pieces of Ordnance. At *London* was apprehended, condemned, and executed, Colonell *Euſebius Andrews*, who being taken with a Commiſſion from his Majeſty, was beheaded at *Tower Hill*, *September* 8. That moſt excellent Princeſſe *Elizabeth* daughter to our late So-

veraign, dyed at *Carisbrook* Caſtle in the *Iſle* of *Wight*. Upon theſe ſad diſaſters his Majeſty went ſecretly away to the North of *Scotland*; upon which the Committee of Eſtates are much troubled, chiefly for that they feared hee would join with *Middleton*; they ſend Major Generall *Mountgomery* with a party of Horſe to endeavour by earneſt ſupplications to bring him back to Saint *Johnſtons*, which at the firſt he utterly refuſeth, but at laſt condeſcended to retire with *Montgomery* about the later end of *October* the Prince of *Orange* departed this life, whoſe death was much lamented by his moſt gracious Majeſty, having received from him many high Teſtimonies of friendſhip and good will, about ten days after the Princeſſe of *Orange* was delivered of a Son, which did in part mitigate her griefe for the Princes death. After three months ſiege the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* was ſurrendred up to *Cromwell*, *December* 24. 1650. with all the Ordnances, Armes, Magazine, and furniture of War thereunto belonging. Notwithſtanding the hard fortune his Majeſties forces hitherto had undergone, ſeverall deſignes.

Edinburgh Caſtle ſur. to the Engl.

were

were ſet on foot. At this time there was one *Benſon* executed at *Tiburn*, for acting by virtue of a Commiſſion from his Majeſty; upon the ſame account there roſe a great number in the County of *Norfolk*, but were ſoon diſperſed and taken. About this time Sir *Henry Hide* being Commiſſionated by his Majeſty, Ambaſſador to the grand ſenior at *Conſtantinople* ſtood in competition with Sir *Thomas Bendiſh*, whereupon they had a hearing before the *Vizier Baſſa*; The reſult whereof was, that Sir *Thomas Bendiſh* ſhould diſpoſe of Sir *Henry Hide* as he thought good, who was ſtraight way ſent to *Smyrna*, thence into *England*, and there condemned, and executed as a Traytor before the Royall *Exchange London*. The War now in *Scotland* was almoſt at a ſtand, by reaſon of the ſharpneſſe of the Winter. The grand buſineſſe now in agitation, is the Corronation of his Majeſty, which was accordingly performed at *Scone*, *Jan.* 1. 1651. with as much Pomp and Ceremonies, as the preſent State of affairs would permit. The Parliament conſidering how prone the people would be to adore the ſhadow of his late Majeſty of glorious

Memory

Memory caused his statue formerly set up at the West end of *Pauls* Church to be pulled down, and that also in the Royall *Exchange*, over which they caused to be writ this Motto, *Exit Tyrannus Regum ultimus Anno Libertatis Angliæ Restitutæ primo, Jan.* 30. 1648. they also caused the Kings Arms to be defaced, and taken out of all Churches, Chappels, and places of Judicature, throughout their Dominions. The 29 of *May* being his Majesties birth day, was celebrated in *Scotland* with much joy and feasting. About this time in *London* was discovered a most dangerous plot (as they were pleased to call it) contrived by the Presbyterians, Mr. *Christopher Love*, Mr. *Gibbons*, Major *Alford*, Major *Adams*, Colon. *Barton*, Mr. *Blackman*, Mr. *Case*, Mr. *Cauton*, Mr. *Jenkins*, Mr. *Jackson*, Mr. *Robinson*, and many others were secured and examined before a High Court of Justice: Mr. *Love*, and *Gibbons* were beheaded, *August* 22. 1651. on *Tower Hill*; the rest upon their humble petitions and acknowledgements of their Crimes, were released and pardoned.

The *Scots* having now compleated their

their Levies to the number of 15000 Foot, and 6000 Horſe, marched on this ſide *Sterling*, to a place called *Torwod*, where they were faced by the Engliſh, but could not be drawn to an engagement, though the Engliſh much deſired it; at laſt the Engliſh attempted the Scotts by aſcending the Hill, which being done after a ſhot diſpute the Scots are utterly routed, 2000. or there abouts were ſlain, and 1400. were taken priſoners; whereof Sir *John Brown* Commander in chief was one, with Col. *Bucanan*, and many others of quality. Immediately upon this was ſurrounded the ſtrong Caſtle of *Inchygarvey*. *July* 27. The whole Engliſh Army appear before *Brunt Iſland*, which after ſome Capitulations was alſo yielded up. this was no ſooner done but the main body of the Engliſh Army attend more eminent ſervice, *viz.* The Purſuit of his Royall Majeſty, who with an Army of 16000. Horſe and Foot, enters *England* by way of *Carliſle*; accordingly the infantry were boated over *Fife* with as much expedition as could be; and preſently after the Horſe: the truly Valiant then Lievtenant Generall *Monk* was left in *Scotland* with a party of

of 7000 Horſe and Foot, who ſtraight way took in the ſtrong Town and Caſtle of *Sterling*, *Aberdeen*, *Abernets*, *Dundee*, *Dunotten*, and *Dunbarton* Caſtle with ſeverall others.

So that now the whole Realm of *Scotland* was wholly ſubdued and made Tributary to the Republick of *England*. His Majeſty now at laſt with the Scots Army entred *Worceſter*; from whence the King ſent his Royall letters commanding Sir *Thomas Middleton* to raiſe what forces he could for him, and the like to Colonell *Mackworth* Governor of *Shrewsbury*, but all to no purpoſe. His Royal Majeſty was proclaimed King of Great *Brittain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, in moſt of the Market Towns as he came to *Worceſter*: about two or three dayes before his Majeſties arrivall at *Worceſter*, The Earl of *Derby* having landed at *Wy Water* in *Lancaſhire*, came to him with 250. Foot, and 60 Horſe, which he brought with him out of the *Iſle* of *Man*, but immediately he returned back into *Lancaſhire*, to raiſe a more conſiderable force, which with the influence hee had in thoſe places, he ſoon got together a body of 1500. to prevent their conjunction

ction with his Majeſties forces, *Cromwels* Regiment and *Lilburns* join together, and after one hours diſpute, the Earle of *Derby*'s party was worſted, the Earle himſelfe wounded, hardly eſcapes to *Worceſter*, leaving his *George* and *Garter* behind him; of the Kings party the moſt conſiderable that were ſlain were the Lord *Widrington*, Sir *Thomas Tileſly*, Colonell *Mat. Boynton*, Sir *Will. Throgmorton*, &c.

Not long after *Cromwell* with his Army came before *Worceſter*, which was preſently diſperſed about the City in Order to a cloſe beſieging of it; hereupon the Scots Salley out of *Worceſter*, but are repulſed with ſome loſſe. The next re-encounter was the paſs at *Upton* which the truly Valiant Major Generall *Maſſey* kept for his Majeſty; but he being too much over powred by *Lamberts* Horſe and Dragoons, which came from *Eveſham*, and with *Fleetwoods* Brigade, was forced to retreat, he himſelfe being wounded.

The Third of *September* (being the ſame day twelve Month on which the Scots were ſorely beaten at *Dunbar*) was that black and fatall day on which the Royall

Royall intereſt received their dreadfull wound, the fight was maintained with great Valour on his Majeſties part, but being greatly over powred, his Majeſties Forces were totally routed both Horſe and Foot, their Works and Fort Royall were taken, their Canons turned upon themſelvs, the City was ſtraightway entred and ſearched, the moſt of the Scotts inſtantly were ſlain and taken, in this engagement neer 10000 were taken priſoners, and about 3000 ſlain; His Majeſty perceiving the day hitherto loſt, begins now to ſhift for himſelf, (the people generally as they fled confuſedly, cry out, O ſave the King, ſave the King!) he preſently withdrew himſelfe to the houſe where he quartered, and took of his treaſure what he could conveniently carry with him; juſt as Golonell *Cobbet* was entring the fore part of the houſe, his Majeſty was ſlipt out by a back way, together with the Lord *Wilmot*, ſtriking into the moſt private and unfrequented way to avoyd the hot purſuit and ſtrict enquiry that was made for him: The Earl of *Derby* was taken priſoner in the purſuit by *Lilborn*, whoſe hands hee had narrowly eſcaped not many dayes before

before; together with the Earle of *Loderdale*, the Earl of *Cleveland*, *Shrewsburry*, and Lord *Wentworth*, with many other perſons of quality in the main fight were taken, Duke *Hamilton*, *Rob.* Earle of *Carnworth*, *Alexander* Earle of *Kelley*, *John* Lord *Synclare*, Sir *John Packington*, Major General *Mountgomery*, Mr. *Richard Fanſhaw*, the Kings Secretary, the Generall of the Ordnance, the Adjutant General of the Foot, the Marſhall Generall. 6. Colo. of Horſe, 13. of Foot, 9. Lievetenant Collon. of Horſe, 8. of Foot, 6. Majors of Horſe, 17. Majors of Foot, 37. Cap. of Horſe. 72. Cap. of Foot, 55. Quarter Maſters of Horſe, 72. Cap. of Foot, and a number of other inferiour Officers, 1500. Colours, the Kings Royall Standard, his Collar of SS Coach and Horſes, and other things of great value. Major Gen. *Maſſey* though he had made a ſhift to eſcape out of the field, yet by reaſon of his wounds and ſick condition of body, ſurrendred himſelfe to the mercy of the Counteſs of *Stamford*, whoſe ſon nevertheleſſe the Lord *Gray* of *Groby* ſecured him as a priſoner, and ſent him up to the Parliament ſo ſoon as his wounds were cured;

cured; Leivtenant Gen. *David Lesley*, and Leiut. Gen. *Middleton* were both taken at *Blackstone* Bridge, between *Hallifax* and *Raesdale*, and sent Prisoners to *Leverpoole*.

Near this time most of the Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland* were taken at a place called *Ellett*, in that Nation, where they were assembled to propagate their Royall designes; such was the sad events which attended his Royall Majesty, that he who a few days before was proclaimed King of Great *Brittain*, had now neither Camp, nor Garrison, nor lodging to fly unto for safety or shelter. For now the *Junto* at *Westminster* profer 5000 Sterling to any that shall detect the Kings Royall person, which notwithstanding hee escaped after this manner. *Viz.* After the great and fatall fight at *Worcester*, between his Majesties forces and the *Cromwelian* Rebells, the field being lost, not for want of courage, by the King party, but by those numerous supplies, who served only like the *Turkish Asapi*, to blunt the Royall swords, so that their wearied arms no longer able to hold out, were forced to retreat, and at length (notwithstanding the generous

nerous example of his Majeſty, who performed things worth wonder) to a diſorderly flight: yet 'tis worthy of obſervation, that upon *Cromwells* advance near the City, his Majeſty in perſon, and in the head of the Horſe, drew out againſt him, and that with ſo much valor and courage, that *Cromwells* own life-guard, and the beſt of his old Souldiers, who were thought almoſt invincible) were forced to retire till ſeconded by *Fleetwood*, *Disbrow*, *Lambert* and others, (who over powred the Kings forces, being above five to one: and ſo loath was his Majeſty to decline the field, that upon his earneſt endeavours to have his horſe and foot rally, twice had he his Horſe ſhot under him, and at length was forced to ſhift for himſelf, and to provide for his own ſafety; and ſo with ſome Nobles and Servants, not without a great deal of difficulty, forced to quit the field, and by the moſt unfrequented Roads that they could poſſibly find out, rod to a Farmhouſe of a Noble gentleman on the Borders of *Staffordſhire*, where they no ſooner arrived but his Majeſty diſrobed himſelf of his Princely Ornaments and Accoutrements, and

Particularly of a Chain of Gold or Spannar-string worth three hundred pounds Sterling, the present of a Scottish Lady which he bestowed upon a servant of his there present: which done, for his farther disguise, he proceeded to the cutting off his hair, and the Cot affording neither shears nor Scissars to perform it, it was by the Lord *Wilmot* cut off with a knife. And now every one is commanded to shift for himself, and this poor Prince left alone to the sole protection of the Almighty, he choosing none but one friend to accompany him, with whom he wandred into a Wood, within four mile, (say some) of *Wolverhampton*, where finding a hollow Oke, he was now content to make it his Palace, for here he for some days concealed himself, his Friend still towards night going out to provide him some refreshment during this his solitary confinement. In the meantime the Lord *Wilmot* who was commanded with the rest to seek his fortune, was by chance pursued by some souldiers, but meeting with a Countrey fellow formerly a souldier in the old Kings Army, he was by him secured though somewhat

what ſtrangely, for he carries him into a Malthouſe belonging to Mrs. *Jane Lane*, and having no other convenient place to hide him in, clapt him under the kilne, though there were then ſome fire in it, and the malt ſmoaking on the top. In the mean time the ſouldiers then in purſuit of him, entred the houſe, and having made about three quarters of an hours ſearch every where elſe, but not at all ſuſpecting the kilne, where they ſaw the fire, they departed, and the Lord *Wilmot* was taken out of the kilne almoſt ready to faint with the extremity of the heat. The Countrey fellow having thus ſecured this Lord, acquaints Mrs. *Lane* with what he had done, and ſhe extremly glad of it, gets him to her houſe, where in conference ſhe enquires of the Kings ſafety. The Lord *Wilmot* gives her the former relation of his miſeries and diſtreſs, which forces tears from the tender hearted Gentlewoman, ſhe earneſtly entreats him to take ſome courſe for the finding out of his Majeſty, and conducting him to her houſe, ſhe being reſolved to venture her life, had ſhe ten thouſand, for the ſaving of his Royal Majeſties.

The Lord *Wilmot* glad of ſo happy an opportunity to ſerve his Majeſty, and ſo great a probability of ſecuring him, the next night finds him out, and conducts him from the Royal Oak to the Houſe of Mrs. *Jane Lane*, where after a large condoling of his hard fortune conſultation was had for a conveniency for his eſcape beyond ſea, and at length it was concluded, that *Briſtol* would be the moſt convenient place to take ſhipping, That his Majeſty ſhould ride before Mrs. *Lane* by the name of *William* ſervant to Mr. *Laſtell* her father in law, who was likewiſe to go with them; and thus it was immediately given out, that Mr. *Laſtell* and Mrs. *Lane* were to take a journey into the *Weſt*, to viſit ſome friends, and ſhortly after they ſet forward. In this journey there happened many accidents worthy commemoration, and firſt, the Kings Majeſty riding now as ſervant to one of the faithfulleſt of his Subjects, in a Livery Cloak, though not without that reſpect that durſt be given to him; complains to Mrs. *Lane* that the cloak wearied him, whereupon ſhe deſires Mr. *Laſtell* to carry it, and long they had not rid

ſo,

ſo but they meet upon the Road her brother in law, who amongſt other queſtions demanded of her, if her father muſt carry her mans Cloak, to which ſhe readily anſwered, that it was ſo big that it often endangered the throwing her off the horſe, and that ſhe had therefore deſired him to carry it. The next and moſt important accident of all was, that coming into a town, which they were to paſs through, there was a Troop of Horſe there to be quartered drawn up, which cauſed ſome fear, but at length with a reſolution they paſſed on, and the Captain taking them for honeſt travellers, made his Troop open to the right and left, and ſo permitted them to paſs. Another accident there happened, which one may ſay was almoſt comical in this Tragedy, Mrs. *Lane* coming into the Inne leaves his Majeſty under the name of *William* her ſervant in the Kitchin, with whom the maid enters in to diſcourſe, ſhe asks him where he was born, and what trade he was, he anſwers at *Brumingham*, and a Naylors ſon, and after a great deal of other diſcourſe, the Jack being down, the maid deſires him to wind it up,

which he willingly undertakes, but goes the wrong way about it, and somewhat prejudices it; at which the maid grew angry, asking him where he was bred, and telling him he was the veriest clownish booby that ever she saw in all her life; which railing of hers made his present misery go out of the room smiling.

Mrs. *Lane* notwithstanding his Majesty went as her servant, yet had a greater respect for him before others, pretended him her Tenant's son; but on the Road she would always ask what he would have to dinner or supper, and what piece of that he liked, which she would always be sure to get made ready and give him, he still sitting at the lower end of the table.

But to come to the end of their journey, being arrived at *Bristol* they lodged at the house of a Noble gentleman there, and kinsman to Mr. *Lastel*: the King finding it to be a house of great resort, feigns himself sick of an Ague, and so keeps his Chamber all the day, coming down onely at nights; but one night coming down and being somewhat cold craves a glass of Wine of the Butler,

Butler, who carries him into the Buttery; this Butler having before ſerved his Majeſties Father in the Wars, looking earneſtly upon him, ſuſpected him to be the King, ſo eaſily will Majeſty appear though veiled in the utmoſt diſguiſes, and thereupon pulling off his hat, told him very ceremoniouſly, That he might command what wine he pleaſed; of which the King took no notice, but drinking off his Wine went out; yet the Butler could not ſatisfie his ſuſpicion, but went up to Mr. *Laſtels*, & demanded of him how long he had had that ſervant, whereupon Mr. *Laſtels* was very angry at his boldneſs, in daring to ask him ſuch a queſtion; but the Butler ſtill perſiſted, and whiſpering told him that he believed it was the King, whereupon Mr. *Laſtels* ſeeing he was diſcovered, ſends immediately for his Majeſty, whom he acquaints with the Butlers diſcovery of him, with whom the King was ſomewhat angry, in regard he did not firſt acquaint himſelf with his ſuſpition, it not being impoſſible, but that Mr. *Laſtels* might not have known him to be the King; but upon pardon asked by the Butler, it was granted by

the King, and he afterwards proved very instrumental in his Majesties conveyance through the Countrey.

But here at *Bristol* the chief design they had in hand failed them; for though there were a little Barque lay there, judged most convenient for the business, yet the Master would for no reward transport a single person, though he was so honest as only to deny it and made no further search or inquiry concerning the person, which might perhaps have tended to a discovery.

This design here failing, his Majesty desired to be brought some miles Westward to the house of a worthy gentleman whom he knew to be a trusty friend; where coming in he finds the gentleman in the field with his servants; having discovered himself to him, he was by him conveyed to a convenient stand till night, (having first taken leave of his true friends, who had thus far conducted him with the danger of their Lives and Estates,) from whence he was in the dusk conveyed into the house, and there carefully concealed for a week, till such time as preparation could be made in some Western Port of a passage for him; but coming afterwards

wards there where it was provided, chancing to dine with a Parliament Colonell then there, he thought it the safer to loose the benefit of that passage, then adventure to imbarque himselfe singly, which might breed suspicion, and perhaps have been the means after so many deliverances to have betrayed him into the hands of his enemies.

This passage then likewise failing him he then returned back to the place from whence he came, and concealed himself three weekes longer, till in the end it being resolved on, he by the assistance of Mr. *Ph.* was conveyed through the most by-ways they could imagine to a gentlewomans house in *Sussex*, where he lay till a person of true worth and honour made provision of a faithfull Master, who with a small Vessel wafted him to a small Creek in *Normandy*, to the great content of the Kings sacred Majesty, and all his Loyall Subjects and to the honour of the Master with due reward, as in time may appear.

Soon after this the Juncto at *Westminster* took order for the reducing of the two Islands *Jersie* and *Man*: about this time dyed Generall *Popham*, one of the Generals at Sea, and *Ireton* *Cromwells*

wells Son in Law of the plague in *Ireland*. No sooner had the *English* brought things to some quietnesse at home but now new stirs begin to appear abroad; The Hollanders being offended at an Act made by that piece of Parliament then sitting at *Westminster*, for the encreasing of shipping and encouragement of Navigation break out into an open warre, and the first act of Hostility was *May*, 16. 1652. When *Van Trump* Admiral of the Dutch Fleet, with about 40 two sail comming into *Dover* Road refused to strike sail, hung out a Red flag, the usuall sign of defiance, and gave a broad-side to *Blake* the English Admirall, which occasioned some hours sharp dispute, wherein the Dutch had the worst; they lost in this fight two ships and 150 men. But of this action the States of *Holland* would not be concern'd, because as they sayd, it was done without their approbation, and a little the beter to palliate the business, they dispatch their Embassadors over into *England*, to renew the Treaty: the effect of which proved an open war betwixt the Common-Wealths, which was now publickly proclaimed on both sides. In *July* Sir *George Ascue* with a Squadron

Squadron of Ships being left to guard the narrow Seas, diſcovered a Fleet of Flemmings between *Dover* and *Callice* being about 80. of which ten were taken and burnt, the reſt ran a ſhore the Coaſts of *France*; Sir *George Aſcue* as he was ſailing Weſtward to guard the Seas, and conduct home the Marchant-men that lay at *Plymouth* on the *16. Auguſt*, between one and 2. in the afternoon, they had a ſight of the Dutch Fleet, they preſently made what haſt they cold towards them to diſcover their number, which was about 60. ſail of men of War, and 30 Marchant-men; the Engliſh were 38. ſail, and 4. Fireſhips, and 4. Scouts; they came up to the enemy about 4. in the afternoon, and began the fight with much Gallantry and high reſolution; this engagement continued feirce till night parted then not without ſome loſs to the Engliſh, but much more to the Dutch. *Sept.* 27. General *Blake* with his Fleet diſcovered on the back-ſide of Goodwin-Sands about 60. ſail of Dutch-men of War, under the Gommand of Admiral *de Wit*, which bout was called the *Kentiſh Knock*, they ſhamefully flying from the Engliſh though

though far more in number, were miſerably beaten by General *Blake*; Upon the Neck of this breach came into *England* an Ambaſſador from the Queen of *Sweden*, where he ended his life before he effected any thing; another alſo from the King of *Denmark*, who alſo ſeeing no probability of peace between theſe Nations, departed out of this Kingdom.

In the Levant Seas a ſmal Fleet of the Engliſh were ſet upon by 11 ſail of Dutch who over-powering them in number, took and blew up 5. Engliſh Ships; About the beginning of *December* General *Blake* himſelf engaging with the whole Fleet of the Dutch, came of with the worſt looſing the *Garland* and *Bonaventure*, and ſome other Ships. About the ending of *February* the Dutch were miſerably overthrown by the Engliſh between *Portland* and the Iſle of *Wight*; In the mean time arrived an Extraordinary Ambaſſador from the King of *Portugal* to the Parliament, which after many Addreſſes and Treaties concludes a peace, with Obligation to ſatisfy the Engliſh Marchants

From *France* alſo the Engliſh were

Courted

courted by two partyes, by an Agent from the King of *France*, desiring a releafe of thoſe Ships taken going to the relieſe of *Dunkirk*; & by 4. Deputies from the Prince of *Conde*, craving aid againſt the Cardinal and his Creatures; who had ſtraitly beſieged the City of *Bourdeaux*, but they both proved ineffectual.

And now happened a very ſtrange Alteration in the Scene of Affairs in *England*, *Cromwel* whoſe ambition was now ripe, and who knew he might take a very fit opportunity, to uſurp that that power he had ſo long gaped for, the people of theſe Nations being weary of the actions of this Parliament, and there dilatory proceedings, and apparent intentions of perpetuating themſelfs, and to defraud the people of their ancient, and undoubted Liberties of equal and ſucceſſive repreſentatives,* entered the Parliament-Houſe, attended with ſome of his principal Officers, and there delivered certain reaſons, why a Period ought to be put to that Parliament, which was preſently done; the Speaker with the reſt of the Members, ſome by force,

force, some through fear, and some murmuring departed the House, & the better to satisfy the wiser sort of people, *Cromwel* and his Officers publish a large Declaration, shewing the reasons of his dissolving that Parliament; Thus, that part of the Parliament, who had basely murdered their King, and Usurped an Authority, over these Nations are turned out of Doors, to the scorne and derision of the whole Nation by their Servant *Oliver Cromwel*.

Thus that part of the House of Commons which then sat (afterwards better known by the name of the *Rump*) being dissolved, their power was wholly devolved into the hands of their aspiring General; who least the Magistrates and other publique Ministers of the nation should be startled at this so suddain change. This following Declaration was published.

WHereas the Parliament being dissolved, persons of approved fidelity and honesty, are (according to the late Declaration of the 22 *of* April *last) to be called from the severall parts of this Commonwealth to the supreme Authority; and although*

although effectuall proceedings are and have been had for perfecting those resolutions; yet some convenient time being required for the assembling those persons, it hath been found necessary for the preventing the mischiefs and inconveniences, which may arise in the mean while to the publick affairs, that a Councill of State be constituted to take care of and intend the peace and safety, and present management of the affairs of the Commonwealth; which being settled accordingly, the same is hereby declared and published, to the end all persons may take notice hereof, and in their severall places and stations demean themselves peaceably, giving obedience to the Laws of the Nation *as heretofore: and in the exercise and administration whereof, as endeavours shall be used, that no oppression or wrong be done to the people; so a strict account will be required of all such, as shall do any thing to endanger the publick peace and quiet upon any pretence whatsoever.*

O. CROMWELL.

Aprill. 30.
1653.

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Theſe domeſtick Revolutions did in ſome meaſure heighten the ſpirits of the Dutch, for they thought ſome eminent diſtractions and commotions would certainly enſue thereupon, *June*, 2. The Engliſh Fleet being at Anchor, without the South-head of the Gober, diſcover about 100 ſail, of *Dutch* men of Warre, lying two Leagues to *Lee ward*; the Engliſh preſently made ſail after them, after a ſharp diſpute they take of the Dutch 11. men of war, two water-hoyes 6. Captaynes, 1500 priſoners, and ſunck 6. men of War more; had not the night prevented the reſt of the Dutch Fleet would in all probabillity have been cut off in this engagement. General *Dean*, one of our Admiralls was ſlain; In the mean time *Cromwell* and his Confederates conſult on fit perſons on whom the Legiſlative power of the Nation ſhould be committed, to which end the grand Tyrant iſſueth out warrants under his own hand to a certain number of perſons choſen by himſelf, whom he thought would ſerve his intereſt to appear at the Counſell Chamber at *White-Hall*, *July*. 4. 1653. Where being accordingly met

Cromwell

Cromwell being attended with ſeveral Officers of the Army, maketh them a ſhort ſpeech, and delivereth unto them a writing under his hand and Seal, impowering them to be the ſupreme Legiſlative Authority of the three Nations: from thence they repair to the Parliament houſe, and chooſe for their Speaker Mr *Rouſe*, they begin to debate what they ſhall call themſelves; at laſt they conclude to call themſelves the Parliament, having ſat about four moneths their conſultations are chiefly for the taking away of Tythes, at laſt it was moved by ſome of them that their further ſitting would not prove for the peace of the Nation, therefore they attend the General and according to command reſigned their power into his hands again, who preſently after, aſſumes to himſelf the Title of *Lord Protector* of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, takes unto himſelf a Council of twenty one perſons, by whoſe aſſiſtance all things are carried on, during the intervals of Parliament.

Things being thus tranſlated in

England, his Royal Majesty not having any further means left him for the regaining of his dominions, is constrained to take up his Residence in the kingdom of *France*, where notwithstanding his low condition he lived with great honour and respect, with the King Queen and Nobles of *France*. During his abode here in this Court a match was propounded to him, *viz.* the Duke of *Orleances* daughter, as likewise to his illustrious Brother the noble Duke of *York*, the Duke of *Longevills* daughter. But the troublesome estate of the kingdom of *France*, and his Royal Majesties ill posture of affairs in his own kingdoms, soon put a period to this transaction. Whilest these things were in agitation happened a difference betwixt the the Prince of *Conde* and Cardinal *Mazarine*, most of the Princes of the blood side with the first: the King of *France*, who now was newly come to age, to sway the Scepter, with the latter; the cause of the quarrel was, Cardinal *Mazarine* his inordinate power, and other grand miscarriages of state, the people also generally

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murmure againſt him, the Princes and Parliament of *Paris* and *Bourdeaux* are againſt him, as alſo the Duke of *Lorraine*, then in ſervice of the *Spaniard*, things arrived at ſuch a height that nothing but a Civil war was likely to enſue, to compoſe and end theſe differances his ſacred Majeſty of *England* uſeth his utmoſt endeavours, telling them from his own experience, the miſeries of a civil War; but all endeavours proved ineffectuall, for the *French* King, perſiſted in his reſolutions not to give way to the baniſhment of the Cardinal, hereupon, the Duke of *Lorraine* was ſent for with his Army to come and joyn with the Princes, the Duke having been tampered with by the contrary party and having advantageous termes deſiſted, hereupon a generall report was ſpread, that his Majeſty of *England* had drawn over the Duke to the Kings party, becauſe they were often together, this coming to the peoples ears, ſo incenſed them not onely againſt the Duke for his perfidiouſneſs, But alſo againſt his Majeſty and the Queen his mother, the fury of the

people increaſed ſo much that the King was forced for his own preſervation to retire from the *Louver* to St *Jermans*, the Queen his mother received many affronts, as ſhe paſſed in her Coach from the *Louver* to the Nunnery at *Chaliet*, where ſhe kept her Reſidence; his Majeſty now treateth with *Lorraine* for the recovery of his kingdom of *Ireland*, out of the hand of the Engliſh Republick, to this end ſeveral Articles are agreed unto by the Lord *Taffe* agent for the King, and the Duke; amongſt other things it was concluded that the Duke ſhould be veſted with the power and title of Protector Royall of *Ireland*. But the Duke having not ſtrength enough for this great enterpriſe, this buſineſſe takes no effect: his Majeſty having ſtayed at Saint-*Jermans* till the heat of the popular fury was over, returned again to the Louvre. During his abode there, his iluſtrious Brother the Duke of *Gloceſter*, who for a long time had bin under the cuſtody of the Engliſh Junto, and at length diſmiſſed and ſent into *Holland* to his ſiſter, was from thence attended into *France* by Sir

Marmaduke

Marmaduke Langdale, and Sir *Richard Grenvile*, and he was honorably received at *Paris* by the French King, Queen-Mother, and the reſt of the Grandees. During his Majeſties abode here, arrived Mrs. *Jane Lane*, who had ſo miraculouſly preſerved the King after the fight at *Worceſter*, he being exceedingly glad to hear this news, immediately ſends ſome perſons of quality, with Coaches to conduct her to *Paris*, where being come they rejoyce in each others preſence: let us now a little caſt our eyes into *England*, where *Cromwell* and the Council at *White-Hall*, having uſurped the Regall authority carry all by force before them, about the latter end of *February*, ſeveral perſons of quality are carried to the Tower, for being Loyal to his Majeſty, but becauſe nothing of moment could be proved againſt them they are ſet at liberty. *Cromwell* being deſirous to ſtrengthen himſelf, in the Tyrannical Reigning over his Majeſties ſubjects bethinks himſelf of making peace with forein States and Princes, to that

end presently patches up a very disadvantageous peace with the *Dutch*. presently after, concludes a peace also with *Christina* Queen of *Sweden* a little before the resignation of her Crown to her Couzen *Carolus Gustavus*. In *May* following, several persons are charged with high Treason for endeavouring to take away the Protectors life, seize upon the Tower and proclaim his Majesty King of Great *Brittain*, a High Court of Justice is erected, Col. *Gerard*, *Peter Vowel* School-master and *Somerset Fox* are condemned to die, the last is reprieved for his ample confessions; Col. *Gerrard* was beheaded at Tower hill, and *Vowel* hanged at Charing-Cross on the same day, *Don Pantaleon Sa*, Brother to the *Portugal* Ambassadour was beheaded, for engaging in a quarrel on the New Exchange where one Mr. *Greneway* was slain. His Sacred Majesty having now remained in the Court of *France* about two or three years, sometimes being lifted up high with hopes, of regaining his three kingdoms, other times being cast down with fears sollicitates,

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the States of *Holland* again, to own his Royall intereſt, but they having made a peace with *Oliver* onely complement him with a letter full of civility: and now that which troubled his Majeſty moſt was this, the *French* Court, (notwithſtanding all means uſed to the contrary by the King of *England*, his mother and other friends) prepare to ſend over an Ambaſſadour into *England*; hereupon his ſacred yet ſtill ſuffering Majeſty leaves that kingdom, having taken his farewell of the King and other great ones from whom he received many Complements and Apologies, being accompanied with his brother the Duke of *York*, his Couzens Prince *Rubert* and Prince *Edward Palatine* to *Chatillion*, a houſe belonging to the Prince of *Conde* where they ſtayed a while to conſider how to diſpoſe of themſelves to th'beſt advantage his Majeſty with Prince *Rupert* reſolves for Germany, having before ſent the Lord *Wilmot*, before Ambaſſadour to the Emperor to negotiate in his behalf: Prince *Edward* took his journey to *Burbone*, the Duke of *York* remaining in *France* till after the peace with *England* is concluded being

ing Lieutenant General of the French Army: the young Duke of *Glocester* after his Brother was gone into *Germany*, by reason of the Queen his Mother, and some others of the Catholique Religion, was placed in the Colledge of the Jesuits there, to have been bred up in the Romish Religion; Intelligence thereof being soon brought to his Majesty: he being not a little displeased, soon takes order for his remove, which was exactly performed. *Oliver*, according to one Article in his Government, called a Parliament to meet at *Westminster*, *Sept.* 3. 1654. *William Lenthal* master of the Roll, being chosen Speaker; at their first sitting they begin to question the lawfulness of the power, by which they were called, this highly Offended *Oliver* Protector, and made him resolve to put a Period to their sitting; so when they had sat about 5. mouths, he dissolved them, soon after the dissolution of the Parliament, the Court was allarmed with news of a great rising in *Shropshire*, *Montgomryshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Nottinghamshire*, *Northumberland* and *Yorkshire* in the behalf of his Royal Majesty: Sir *Henry Littleton*, Sir *John Packington*, and

and Major *Wildman* are secured, and sent Prisoners to the *Tower*. Sunday 11. *March* a Party about 200. enter *Salisbury*, seize upon Horses, take away Commissions from the Judges as they were going there circuit and march towards *Cornwal*, they are met with by Captain *Unton Crook*, and after a sharp dispute totally routed, their chief Captains were taken, *viz. Penruddock*, *Jones*, and *Grove*, Sir *Joseph Wagstaffe*, made a shift to escape shortly after, *Penruddock* and *Grove* were beheaded at *Exon*, and *Jones* was repreived: several other risings in other parts of this Kingdom, but were all suppressed; and now *Cromwel* prepares a very great Fleet, but for what end none knew but some principal Commanders: In the mean time the King of *Spain* sends over as Extraordinary Ambassador the Marquis of *Leda*, who was here complemented by our new Court, but finding which way things went, after a short stay returns to his own Country; presently after his departure this great Fleet steer there course towards *Hispaniola*, one of the fairest Islands belonging to the American Dominions of the King of *Spain*; at last

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the English land in the Island of *Hispaniola* without any opposition, and seeing no enemy near them, think themselves sole Masters of the Indies. They having marched a many miles through the woods, are ready to perish with faintness, and for want of water; and now the Spanish Negros fall upon them, and miserably kill them, with little resistance drive them out of the Iland; the remainder of those that escaped this Buchery possess themselves of *Jamaica*; & now, *Blake* with a little better success, being come before *Tunis* demands reparation for the losses sustained from Turkish Pyrates, but being answer'd in scorn by the Dye of *Tunis*, fired 9. Ships, and came off with little loss, but much glory to himself; notwithstanding the former ill successes of the Royal party, are sent to the *Tower* upon suspition of Treason; The Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, and the Lord *Newport*. The Illustrious Duke of *Gloucester* having staid for some times with his sister the Princess Royall at Hague, was now resolved to go to his Brother, Our most gracious King, then at *Cullen*. being come thither with his Sister, they stay till after the

Fair

Fair at *Franckfort*, to which place they made a progreſſe of State and pleaſure, being attended with the Marqueſſe of *Ormond*, Lord *Goring*, Lord *Newburrough*, and Lady *Stanhop*, &c. As they paſſed through every Princes Country, they were complemented by their Chief Officers of ſtate, and ſaluted by all the great Guns from all their Towers and Caſtles, in an eſpeciall manner. The Prince Elector of *Ments* ſent his grand Marſhall, to invite them to his Court; whereupon the Lord *Newburrough*, was ſent back to deſire to excuſe them at preſent, promiſing to wait upon them at his return: being arrived at *Franckfort* and hearing that Queen *Chriſtiana* of *Sweſia* was coming that was in her journy to *Italy*; his ſacred Majeſty ſent one of his Lords to her, ſignifying his deſire to wait upon her at what place her Majeſty ſhould be pleaſed to Nominate: the place appointed for this Interview was *Collingſteen* a Village near *Franckfort*, where his Royall Majeſty was received by her with much reſpect: he had Private conference with her about half an hour, then the Duke of *Glocester*, and then the Lords that attended his Majeſty

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Lord *Jermyn* and other English Lords: Takes his Journey to *Flaunders*, where at that time our dread Soveraign did reside, at the Kind invitation of *Don John* of *Austria* then Governour of the Low-Countries: let us now leave our King a little, and look a while into his dominions, where *Cromwell* notwithstanding his ill success in the last Parliament through his necessities, is compelled to call another to meet at *Westminster* 17 *September*, where the Navy, Commanded by General *Mountague* lying to intercept the Spanish plate, coming from the West Indies, obtained a great victory over the *Spaniard* near *Cadize*, six hundred thousand pieces of eight taken besides many ships fired, and many other rich prizes taken. This Parliament being met on the day appointed, petition and advise *Cromwell* to take upon him the name and Title of King, which his tender conscience could not swallow because he was affraid of some of his aspiring Officers; and now a desperate attempt against the life of *Oliver* is found out, and one *Miles Sindercomb* is apprehended and presently after tried and condemned to be hanged drawn

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sty. As they came from *Frankfort* the Elector of *Mentz*, renewed his civilities, provided all manner of Accommodations for them as they passed thorow his Territories, meeting them himselfe a great part of the way; he brought them to one of his Pallaces, where he entertained them after a sumptuous and splendid manner, for two or three days, after which they returned to *Collen*, four *Burgo* Masters being appointed to wait on them, and welcome them home. About the beginning of *November*, 1656. A peace is concluded by *Cromwell*, with the French, the principall condition of this Treaty was the exclusion of our Royall Soveraign, with all his relations and adherents out of the King of *France* his Dominions. The thrice Noble, Heroick and truly Valiant Duke of *Yorke*, notwithstanding his great Command in the King of France his Army, which was Lievetenant Generall, is now advertized to depart the Kingdome, by a prefixed time; which act the *French* may perhaps hereafter have cause enough to rue which now being come, he takes his leave of the King and Court of *France*, being attended by the

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Lord

and quartered, but he on the day appointed for his execution, saves them that labour by making away himself, by snuffing up some poysonous powder into his head; whereupon it was ordered that he should be dragged naked at a Horses heels, from the Tower to the scaffold on Tower hill, and there buried having an Iron stake thrust into his belly, &c.

In *April* 1657. several fifth Monarchy-men are apprehended, for having a design to subvert this grand Tyrant and his Government. Major General *Harrison*, *Lawson*, and others are apprehended, but nothing could positively be proved against them; Now, according to conditions of agreement betwixt *England* and *France*, the French King desires Auxiliary forces from *England* to help him in his Wars against the Spaniard in *Flanders*, which was readily granted by *Cromwel*, 6000. Foot are accordingly sent over under the command of Col. *Reynolds*, who are no sooner landed, but suddenly they take the strong Fort of *Mardike*. After *Cromwel* had given his final answer, that he could not accept of the Title of King, he was

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by the Parliament inſtated Lord Protector in a moſt ſolemne manner, *June* 26. *Cromwel* having now, as he thought, ſetled his Throne, bethinks himſelf of advancing his neareſt friends and relations, to that end, he ſends for his eldeſt Son *Richard* out of the Country, to enure him to a Court life, and that he might have ſome inſight into State affairs, deſigning him for ſucceſſion in the Protectorſhip, which the Univerſity of *Oxford* fore-ſeeing ſend their Proctors, to elect him their Chancellor, in which honour he was ſolemnly inſtalled at *Whitehall*.

His Second Son *Henry* he created Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, his two youngeſt Daughters he matched, the eldeſt to Mr. *Robert Rich*, Grand-child to the then Earl of *Warwick*; The younger to the Lord *Faulconbridge*, the Nuptials of them both was celebrated with much Splendor at *Whitehal* & *Hampton Court*; ſcarſe was the mirth of theſe ſolemnities over, but the Court is allarmed with the death of Gen. *Blake*, Vice-Admiral *Badiley*, and Lieutenant General *Brain*: preſently after Col. *Reynolds* and his Company were caſt away by *Goodwin Sands* coming

coming from *Flanders*. The Parliament (so called) having adjourned themselves from the *6th.* of *June* untill the *20th.* of *January* following; and now those other Members were admitted, who formerly were excluded. There is also another House of Parliament, so called, chosen by *Cromwel*, consisting most part of Officers of the Army, with some of the old Nobility, this latter being as it were a House of Peers. But this other House would not down with the House of Commons; whereupon in a great rage perceiving his right, as he supposed, to be infringed; notwithstanding all diswasions to the contrary, he leaving his Council hasts to the Parliament-House, swearing by the Living God he would dissolve them, which accordingly was done; about the latter end of the year dyed his Son in Law Mr. *Robert Rich*, and not long after his Grand-father the Earl of *Warwick*.

And now about the *12th.* of *March* a terrible plot is discovered, the City of *London* was to be fired, and the Tower and Mews fiered, and all the Souldiers about the City sacrifized to the fury of the Royal interest; and therefore he presently sends for the Lord Major, Aldermen,

dermen, and common Council of the City of *London*, to warne them of the approaching danger, tells them how the Marquess of *Ormond* had lately been in *London* for 3. weeks together, promoting the affairs of his Master, that our most dread Soveraign lay ready with 8000. men, quartered on the Sea Coasts of *Flanders*, and 22. hyred Ships to transport them, thereupon he recommended unto their care the setling of the Militia, upon the many persons were apprehended, an high Court of Justice, erected Dr. *Hewet*, Sir *Henry Slingsby*, and Mr. *Mordant* were brought to tryal; Sir *Henry*, and the Doctor were both condemned to loose their heads on *Tower-Hill*, and 6. others of meaner sort were adjudged to be hanged, drawn and quartered. * great endeavours were used, the Ministers of *London* Petition for the Doctors life, and many great persons, for the Knight, but all avail nothing, About the month of *June* 1658. arrived an ominous Whale in the River of *Thames*, which was taken at *Greenwich*, and found to be 58. foot in length, and every way proportionable.

* *Whereof but three suffered.*

In *Flanders* successes came in with a full

fall Carriers: presently after the taking of *Mardike* Fort, *Dunkirk* was straitly besieged by the joynt Forces of the English and French, and after a sharp battle the Marquis of *Leda* Governour of *Dunkirk* being now more streitly then ever environed both by Land and Seas, resolved upon a desperate sally, in which he was mortally wounded and shortly after dyed, the Governours death wrought so upon the besieged, that on the 25*th*. day of *June Dunkirk* was surrendered into the hands of the French, and afterwards consigned to the English.

August 6. Dyed Mrs. *Elizabeth Claypole*, a Daughter to *Oliver Cromwel*; not long after her, dyed the Earl of *Malgrave* one of the privy Counsellors to his Highnes, so called, And now cometh death it self to act his part on this our noble Tyrant, *Cromwel* himself must also dye, who by force and fraud had from a mean beginning raised himself to the arbitrary Government of these 3. Kingdomes.

And that which is very remarkable on the same day on which he had gained two such signal victories against his Majesties forces *viz*. at *Dunbar* and

Wor-

Worceſter, viz. *September* 3. the night that ushered in the day of his death there aroſe ſuch a horrible tempeſt, the like hath hardly been ſeen in our age, Trees both of a large and ſmaller ſize, are torn out of the earth by the roots. Having as he thought certainly ſecured the government of theſe three Kingdomes to himſelf being at the point of death, he nominates for his ſucceſſor his eldeſt ſon *Richard*, who the next day after his Fathers death, was in the preſence of old *Olivers* privy Councill, and the chief Officers of the Army Proclaimed Lord Protector of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and had addreſſes unto him from moſt parts of the 3. Nations, profeſſing their zeal and affection to his government, which how little they availed him, time hath ſince ſufficiently ſhewed us: And now after the Advancement of *Richard* to the ſupream power and dignity of theſe Nations, Principall care is taken for the enterment of his Fathers Corps, with all the ſolemnity and ſtate accuſtomed at Kings and Princes Funeralls, and to this end ſearch is made into old Records to ſee what was expended at the Funeral

of King *James* of happy memory, that the ſame, nay much more coſt might be beſtowed on this; his Corps being now enbalmed and wrapt in Lead, was conveyed from *Whitehal* to *Somerſet-Houſe*, there to lye in regal pompe and State, a Spectacle for all Commers: and now his Funeral pompe being ended, great preparations there are for the ſending out of naval ſupplyes to the King of *Sweden*: But now want of moneys and other neceſſities of State, enforce *Richard* and his Councel to ſummon a Parliament, which accordingly meet *Jan.* 27. This Parliament conſiſted as the other in his Fathers time did, of two Houſes, the Commons, and the other Houſe, which now was called the Uppe-houſe, and now the great thing under debate was the Recognition of the Government, and now the Protectorians and the Commonwealths-men, for ſo the Houſe was devided, ſpend there time in large Speeches, till on a ſudden, Behold, A Remarkable and an unexpected change, which was occaſioned through ſome ambitious Spirits of ſome in the Army, and particularly Major General *Lambert*, who thought to

make

make himself Lord Protector of the 3 Nations, as his Master *Cromwel* had done before him; joynes with his silly kindred *Fleetwood, Disborow* and others, and partly out of fear enforce *Richard* to dissolve the Parliament then sitting.

And so suffered himself to be devested of that power and authority, which he was invested in, returning to the condition of a private Person, was now honest *Dick* again. And now all men were in a maze wondring into what hands the chief power would next be devolved, the generality of the people did now again according to their bounden duty, not only desire but endeavour, that his Sacred Majesty our most dread Soveraign might be introduced into his own Kingdoms; full well knowing there could be no settlement without his Royal person. But now the Members of the old Parliament and the Counsel of Officers of the Army meet, and it was agreed that those Members of the old Parliament who sat in 1653. and were interrupted by their late aspiring General from sitting, should be invited to their freedome and right of sitting, and the exercise of their trust by a Declaration

presented from the Army to the old Speaker *William Lenthal*, and several of the Members at the Rolls in Chancery-lane; This Junto being thus Re-called from the grave of Ignominy and reproach, for they were the very scorne of the people, Being the Men that Murthered our Royal Soverain, and basely enslaved the people for so many years: on the 7. of *May* they began to set again, and first they appoint a Committee to attend *Richard Cromwel*, to know his mind concerning his acquiescence in the present Government, they receive from him a writing to this effect, that he could freely acquiesce in the present Government, that he held himself obliged as he expected from it, so to demean himself peaceably under it; Not long after they send for his Brother *Henry*, who had ruled in *Ireland* under the title of Lord Lieutenant, who came over and submitted to their good pleasure. And now, the cunning Rump the better that they might secure themselves take into their own hands, the absolute command of the whole Army, constituting the Speaker General in the name of the Parliament; appointing the several Officers

to

to receive new Comissions from them; and now the foundations of government being thus overturn'd there appeared a generall discontent throughout the whole Kingdome, in the end a Secret combination was laid for a generall rising in all Counties.

Sir *George Booth* in *Cheshire*, and *Middleton* in *Shropshire* raised a considerable Army in the defence of King and Parliament; Other Counties failing to come into their assistance, Sir *George Booth* and his party are totally routed by *Lambert*, himselfe taken in a disguised habit and was sent Prisoner to the *Tower* of *London*.

This successe revived his antient credit with the Army, and now he begins to plot their destruction, whose lately had taken him into favour, and that he might the better bring about his own ambitious designes, 13 *October*, 1659. he forced them to a dissolution, by stopping their Speaker, and the rest of their Members from the House.

Thus were those once flourishing Kingdomes hurried into changes of Government and Anarchicall confusions by mean persons who only studied to ad-

vance their own base ends and interests. *Fleetwood* and *Lambert* and the rest of the Officers of the Army have now the sole authority of the Nations, and because they have the longest Sword make their wil their Law, but a little to satisfie the people that they might think themselvs not under the power of the sword, these Officers chose a certain number of choice persons fit for their own turn, to whom they give full authority over the people and Christen them a Committee of Safety. This Goverment is the scorn and derision of the whole Nation, and now though the Rump had hung its tail betwixt it's legs; for about 3. months. In *December* it began to wag it & while the safety of the Committee of Safety was marched into the North, under its Father *Lambert*, the chuilish Rump stole into the House again by night, seven times a Devil worse then before, where now they ride triumphant, make what Laws they list, send their Janizary mil coats into the City, take away the Citizens money pretending it was gathered for the King, they fill the prisons about *London* with those persons that are for a full and a free Parliament: But

yet the eyes of all the godare fixed upon our renowned Generall *Monck*, who isordered to march up to *London* with what force he thinks fit, in the way he was courted with addresses from the Gentry in every County. Being come to *Lond.* he was received with much joy, & now instead of being their *Moses* todeliver them from their Egyptian bondage, he wassuspectedtobe worse then *Pharaoh* himself. On *Thursday Feb.* 9. 1659. by Commandment from the Rump, he enters the City with his whole Army, imprisons many of the Common Counsell, Diggs up their posts, breaks down the Gates of the City and none dares open their mouth. This being done *Saturday* 11 of *February* 1659. a day never to be forgotten; The Noble Generall enters the City with his Army refusing to obey the Rumps Command, and shortly after admits the Secluded Members of the House of Commons which were kept out by the Army, 1648 Those Gentlemen take their places, provide for the safety of the Nation, and at last dissolve themselves: Issue out Writs for a free and full Parliament to sit at *Westminster April* 25. 1660.

But

But to return to his Majestie in *Flanders* of whose Itineracy life I have given you some small account already. *May* the first, the Parliament consisting of Lords and Commons in their Coachs assisted with divers Noblemen, Gentlemen Citizens, Souldiers, &c. Proclaimed his Sacred Majesty King of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, Defendor of the Faith at *Westminster* and *London* in great pomp and solemnity: this being done they send Commissioners to his Royal Majesty then at *Breda*, to acquaint his Majesty what his Parliament in *Eng.* had done entreating his Majesty to make what hast conveniently he can to his Parliament, the City of *London* also send their Commissioners to wait on his Majesty: The Ministers also of *London* send their Deputies to congratulate him; his Majesty conferred the honour of Knighthood, on the Citizens with the Lord *Gerrards* Sword. The States General during his Majesties abode with them, entertained him with as great expressions of joy as if he had been theirs, not *Englands* Soveraign, they had several times audience of his Majesty, who delivered himself-

selves

clues in French, and his Majesty answered them in the same language. The States of *Holland* supped here with his Majesty, where they supped his Majesty sat at the upper end of the Table, the Queen of *Bohemia* on the right hand, the Princess Royal on the left, the Duke of *York* at the right hand of the side of the Table, the Duke of *Glocester* at the left hand, and next him the Prince of *Orange*; one of the Courses was served up all in Gold, which was afterward presented to his Majesty, valued at 60000 *l.* they also gave him a Bed which cost 7000 *l.* and Table linnen to the value of 1000, and 600000 Guldens; the Illustrious Duke of *York*, as high Admiral of *England*, gives order to the Fleet for his Majesties Reception and Transportation of his retinue; His Sacred Majesty, the Queen of *Bohemia*, the Princess Royal, the most Illustrious Duke of *York*, and Duke of *Glocester*, and Prince of *Orange* went aboard General *Montague* in the good ship formerly called the *Naseby*, but now christened by his Majesty the Royal *Charles*; Where after R.c. past the Queen of *Bohemia*, the Princess Royal, and the Prince of *Orange*, having taken leave of

his

his Majesty, they set sail for *England*; the Duke of *York* in the *Lond.* the Duke of *Glocester* in the *James*; Not long after they arrived at *Dover*, where he was received with great demonstrations of joy, the General so soon as ever he saw his Majesty fell on his knees, but his Majesty taking him up and kissing him and embracing him, all parties were well satisfied; His Majesty put on the George on his Excellency the Lord General *Monck*: the Duke of *York* and *Glocester* put on his Garter, he also made him one of the Lords of his honourable Privy Councel, and Master of his Horse. On Tuesday *May* 29. 1660. being the same day of the week on which his Royal Father was murdered, and the same day of the month on which he was born, being just 30. years age; the same day, it also pleased God to bring him in peace to the enjoyment of his Crown and Dignities.

Never was any Prince received with more Triumphs, All the streets being richly hanged with Tapestry, and a Lane made by the Militia Forces to *London Bridge*; from *London Bridge* to *Temple Bar* by the Trained bands on the one side, and the several Companies in their Li-

Liveryes, and the ſtreamers of each Company on the other ſide in their Railes, from *Temple Barr* to *Weſtminſter* by the Militia forces and Regiments of the Army. Thus was his Majeſty conducted to his Royal Pallace at *Whitehal*, the ſolemnity of the day was concluded with infinite of Bonfires, among the reſt a very coſtly one was made in *Weſtminſter*, where the Effiges of old *Oliver Cromwel*, that grand Traytor was ſet upon a high poſt with the Arms of the Commonwealth, which having been expoſed a while to publick view, with Torches lighted that every one might the better take notice of them, were at laſt burnt together; And thus having traced his moſt Sacred Majeſty, even from his loweſt condition through all his ſufferings perſecutions; We ſhall now leave him, inveſted with his Royal Crown and Dignity, and pray long may his Majeſty live a ſupport to his friends, a Terrour to his Enemies, an Honour to his Nation, an Example to Kings of Piety, Juſtice, Prudence and Power, that this Prophetical ſaying may be verifyed in his Majeſty, King *Charles* the

the 14. shall be greater then ever was the greatest of that Name.

God save the King.

FINIS.